

DOMESDAY
TABLES



DOMESDAY TABLES

DOMESDAY TABLES
FOR THE COUNTIES OF
SURREY, BERKSHIRE, MIDDLESEX
HERTFORD, BUCKINGHAM
& BEDFORD & FOR
THE NEW FOREST

WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE
BATTLE OF HASTINGS

ARRANGED
WITH SOME NOTES BY THE HON.
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PREFACE

My preface must begin with apology ; first for having ventured on these tables at all, and next for dealing with counties of which I have no local knowledge. Strictly speaking such tables should be made for their own counties only by well equipped scholars ; but meanwhile students wait or labour to make tables piecemeal for themselves, and it has seemed to me that Domesday tables are much wanted at the present moment. There is an advantage too in having several counties tabulated on the same system, though I am afraid there is some want of uniformity in the details, for the work has been done amidst many and often long interruptions.

My special thanks are due to the Rev. F. W. Ragg for placing at my disposal his tables of hides and tenants in Berkshire and Bedfordshire. I have also to thank Mr. J. W. Corbett for much kindness ; if I could have persuaded him to send his own Domesday work to press, these tables would not be published. I owe the map at the end to the kindness of General E. Renouard James and the Royal Engineers Journal, and I owe much to Miss M. V. Cox of 75 Chancery Lane, who made for me the first abstracts of the Domesday detail. The note on the New Forest and much of the appendix appeared in the English Historical Review and are reprinted with the consent of Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co. My debts to the work of Mr. Maitland and Mr. Round are but imperfectly acknowledged by the references in footnotes.

CONTENTS

PREFACE.	p. v
TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS	p. x
INTRODUCTION	p. xi
NOTE ON THE TABLES FOR SURREY	pp. 1-19

The survey for Surrey ; order of the hundreds ; rubrication ; 1. Identifications ; the 5-hide system ; doubtful entries ; total hides T.R.E. ; 2. Hidage of Hundreds ; the reduced hidation of 1086 ; 3. Distribution of the T.R.E. hidage ; assessments heavier on the chalk ; 4. The hidation of 1086 compared with Northants, Hants and Sussex ; 5. The old assessments restored later ; teamlands ; teams of the demesne and the men ; values ; power to 'go' ; 7. Cotter and bordar equivalent terms ; 9. The making of the returns for Domesday ; 10. Pig-rents from woodland ; 12. From 'herbage' ; mills ; 13. Miscellaneous ; manor-making, mortgages, halls, knight's service ; 14. Duplications ; Tornicrosta, Betchworth, Ewell, Reigate, Battersea, Cuddington ; 15. Summary tables ; 17-19.

TABLES FOR SURREY	pp. 20-37
-----------------------------	-----------

NOTE ON THE TABLES FOR BERKSHIRE	pp. 39-51
--	-----------

Character of the survey ; identifications ; ' Nachdedorne ; ' 39. ' Wibalditune, ' ' Hurlei ; ' cottars and bordars ; 40. Woodland ; assessment heavy in the western hundreds ; teams on the demesnes ; men and teams ; 41. Order of hundreds ; 42. Rubrics omitted ; Ilsley ; 43. Changes of hundred ; 44. Hidage of hundreds ; 45. Total hides ; Sonning ; Shalbourne ; 46. Stratfield ; Coleshill ; reduced hidation of 1086 ; 47. Reduction of value ; forests ; 48. Commendation ; 49. Summary tables ; 50-51.

TABLES FOR BERKSHIRE	pp. 52-77
--------------------------------	-----------

NOTE ON THE TABLES FOR MIDDLESEX	pp. 79-85
--	-----------

Character of the survey ; *M* rubric ; teams and teamlands ; 79. The 5-hide system ; total hides ; Feltham ; 80. Hounslow ; carucates ; later assessments ; remissions ; identifications ; Willesden, Twyford, ' Stanestaple, ' ' Rugmere ; ' 81. Manor-making ; "manors ; " succession ; 82. Mortgage ; 83. A 12th century list of hides ; 83-4. Summary table ; 85.

TABLES FOR MIDDLESEX	pp. 86-93
--------------------------------	-----------

NOTE ON THE TABLES FOR HERTFORDSHIRE	pp. 94-107
--	------------

Style of the survey; more detail in the original returns; *M* rubric; 94. Difference from Bucks; 95. Rubrics; order of hundreds and villages; 96. Identifications; 97. Places in Bedfordshire; hidage of hundreds; 98. Hidage of 1130; teamlands and teams; bordars; 99. "Average;" socmen; distribution of small holders; 100. Their position; power to sell; 101. Soc; 102. Commendation often recent; 103. Socmen in 1086; hides and acres; 104. "Manors;" Amwell, Hoddesdon; diocese of London; 106. Summary table; 107.

TABLES FOR HERTFORDSHIRE	pp. 108-127
------------------------------------	-------------

NOTE ON THE TABLES FOR BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	pp. 129-143
--	-------------

Style of the survey; *M* rubric; order of hundreds; 129. And villages; rubrics often omitted; 130. Hidage of hundreds; 131. Identifications; 132. Woodland; hides 'in demesne'; 133. Carucates; 134. Teams; values; 135. Small holdings at the northern end; thegns and socmen; 136. Divided hundreds; 137. Interlacing of the boundaries on the Chilterns; 138. General hidation; 139. Note on the term 'Manor'; 139-42. Summary table; 143.

TABLES FOR BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	pp. 144-171
--------------------------------------	-------------

NOTE ON THE TABLES FOR BEDFORDSHIRE	pp. 173-179
---	-------------

Arrangement of tables; order of villages; socmen; power to sell; many small Saxon holders, except in the south-west; 173. Comparison with Herts, Bucks and Northants; Danish boundary; 174. Order of the hundreds; rubrics missing; Westoning, Meppershall, Polehanger; the 5-hide system; old analysis of the county; 175. Hidage of the hundreds; county total; hides 'in demesne'; 176. Teamlands; *M* rubric; woodland; 177. Bordars connected with small Saxon holdings; 'jacet in'; 178. Summary table; 179.

TABLES FOR BEDFORDSHIRE	pp. 180-191
-----------------------------------	-------------

NOTE ON HAMPSHIRE.	pp. 192-204
----------------------------	-------------

Harold as King; changes in the old arrangements; the manor of Micheldever; 192. The 10 mansæ 'at Micheldever' granted in 904 were Wonston; reduction of assessment; 193.

THE MAKING OF THE NEW FOREST	pp. 194-204
--	-------------

TABLES FOR THE NEW FOREST	pp. 196, 205-6
-------------------------------------	----------------

APPENDIX A.

ON THE DOMESDAY VALUES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WILLIAM'S MARCH FROM HASTINGS TO LONDON	pp. 207-216
--	-------------

Wasted lands near Hastings; William's march to Dover; 207. Through Kent; 208. Through Surrey to Battersea; to Guildford; to Micheldever; reinforcements from Chichester; 209. To Lambourn; to Wallingford; through Bucks to Olney; 210. Through

CONTENTS

ix

Beds and Cambridgeshire ; rear guard in Middlesex ; 211. Through Herts to Little Berkhamstead ; where the Saxons submit ; 212. Was there a skirmish near London ? Stigand ; size of the army ; 214. Sussex ; 215. General result of the conquest on values ; 216.

APPENDIX B.

ON THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS pp. 217-232

The battlefield ; 217. The numbers engaged ; 218. The fighting mainly on the top of the hill ; 221. On descriptive arithmetic ; 222. William of Poitiers' account ; 223. Topographical notes ; Hechelend ; 225. Normans marshalled geographically ; flight of the left ; 227. Feigned flight of the right ; final blow on English left ; 228. Malfosse ; 229. Santlache ; 230. Wace's fosse disaster ; 231.

MAP OF THE BATTLEFIELD *at the end.*

ABBREVIATIONS

† A church; †† two churches.	K.	King.
Mills ^a 5 Two mills worth 5s.	<i>k, kn</i>	A knight (<i>miles</i>) sharing in the men's teams.
¹ / ₂ 3 Half a mill worth 3s.	<i>L</i>	"He could not sell (<i>or</i> go away) without the lord's leave.
¹ 0 A mill ' <i>sine censu</i> .'	<i>M</i>	"Held for a manor;" v.p. 140.
Hides 2 ¹ / ₄ Two hides and 1 virgate.	MM	"Held for two manors."
2 ¹ 0 Two hides and 10 acres.	<i>M</i>	Manor, so rubricated in D.B.
Teams 3 ^a } 'There are 3 (or 2 ¹ / ₂) teams	(M)	Spoken of as a 'manor' in the latter (T.R.E.) part of the Domesday entry; v.p. 139.
2 ¹ / ₂ } and there could be 2	<i>m.</i>	"Man of —."
<i>Italics</i> are used for sub-tenants.	non }	"Non (<i>or</i> nunquam) geldavit;" see introduction, p. xv.
Brackets () mark variations in spelling;	nq. }	Refer to the footnotes.
e.g. (p.21) "Webri(u)ge," i.e. D.B. has both Webrige and Webrige.	— ⁿ	A priest there, (generally) sharing in the men's teams.
<i>a</i> Averagium or carrying service.	— P	Pasture for the stock.
<i>b., bro.</i> Brother of—	—"	Post (T.R.E.), taken as 1067.
<i>C., Css.</i> Count, Countess.	post	Quando receptum, do.
<i>ch.</i> Church.	Q.R.	Queen.
<i>D.B.</i> Domesday Book.	Q.	"He could sell without the lord's leave."
<i>D.B. and B.</i> Maitland's Domesday Book and Beyond.	S	Socman, sharing in the men's teams.
<i>d.</i> de	<i>s</i>	Thegn.
<i>E.</i> Earl.	th.	Tempore Regis Edwardi (1065-6)
<i>f.</i> Son of—, <i>filius</i> , fitz.	T.R.E.	Tempore Regis Willielmi, generally the date of Domesday Book, 1086.
<i>f.</i> Wood for fencing; generally 'nemus ad sæpes.'	T.R.W.	Victoria County History for the county in question.
<i>f.t.</i> A free tenant.	V.H.	See page—
<i>f</i> A frenchman (<i>francigena</i>) sharing in men's teams.	<i>v.p.</i>	Wife or widow of—
<i>ff</i> Two frenchmen.	w.	
2 <i>fish. 10s.</i> Two fisheries worth 10s.		
<i>G.</i> "He could go (<i>or</i> turn) whither he would."		
<i>h^s</i> From 'herbage' 5s.		

CORRIGENDA

p. 22	l. 5	for	de vestu	read	de vestitu
p. 64	end	for	Breville	read	Bretville
p. 81	ll. 8,10	for	Cranfield	read	Cranford

INTRODUCTION

The attempt to reduce more of Domesday to a tabular form needs no apology. Tables are horrible to most of us and many things are to be found in Domesday besides figures, but after all the main object of Domesday was to record statistics and it is well to have them in a convenient form ; indeed without tables it is almost impossible to appreciate the facts recorded, for it is very difficult by merely reading the text to get a general view of even one feature in a single county. It is in the hope of assisting the student to general views of the country as described in Domesday, not for the sake of the detail, that these tables have been printed ; but also that his general views may not be founded only upon county totals and averages. Attention to the detail is very necessary, for 'an average is not a type' and averages are too apt to give an impression of comparative uniformity which may be, and in Domesday sometimes is, the very opposite of the fact. The notes prefixed to each county do not attempt to deal fully with any feature of Domesday, much less with the whole of it ; they are only intended to set up a few sign posts and offer a few suggestions for the assistance or consideration of others.

In framing a Domesday table there are many practical difficulties. It should include as much as possible of the Domesday detail, but if it is to be easily used, all the items of each entry must be packed into one line of a double page, and if the table is to be easily grasped by the eye, we must not use a wide page or take refuge in very small type. Then in theory the items should be given exactly as they stand in the text, but the variety of Domesday is a fatal obstacle. The object of a table is to appeal to the eye, but in a table the eye does not readily distinguish between '3 h. + 1 v.' and '3 h. - 1 v.', or between '3 hid.' and '3 virg.' ; nor does it instantly recognise the identity of 3*l.* and 6*os.* Again if the figures of each line are not fairly continuous, but are interrupted by constant blanks or a broad column for special features, they are not easy for the eye to follow ; yet in a Domesday table some of the columns are necessarily half or more than half empty, and special features must not be altogether neglected. These difficulties cannot be entirely removed, but I have tried to meet them to some extent as follows.

1. The place names have been put in the middle of the double page, so as to bring them near to the statistics on one side and to the Saxon holders on the other. All varieties of the Domesday names are given, but occasionally, to save space, alternative letters are inserted in brackets.

2. The assessments, to save space and make comparison easier, are given in hides and fractions of a hide. It is quite clear that in the counties here dealt with the geld-hide contained as in Cambridgeshire four geld-virgates,

for the fractions on that basis generally add up into neat 5-hide units. So also in the teams oxen are given as fractions of an 8-ox team.

3. The valuations are given in pounds and fractions of a pound, and are placed next to the teamlands. In this way they can be easily compared with the teamlands on one side and the teams on the other, and the full columns come together in the middle of the page, those which have many blanks being placed on the outer edge. The teams at work are thereby separated from the teamlands, but the double rules will help to carry the eye across ; to put the teams between teamlands and value would separate them from the villeins.

4. To make the columns narrower the names of the tenants in chief have been considerably, and the descriptions of the Saxon holders sometimes rather violently, abbreviated.

5. To combine as far as possible comprehension and compression I have ventured to represent some of the occasional features such as priests, ploughs that "could be made," the number of mills and so forth by small figures above the line or single letters :

- e. g. in the mills $^210 = 2$ mills worth together 10s.
 in the meadow $10^p = 10$ a. of meadow and also 'pasture.'
 in the teams $3^2 = 3$ teams and 2 'could be made.'
 in the hides $o^6 = 6$ acres.

This rather elaborate notation is obviously open to objection, but I hope that it may prove less troublesome in practice than it sounds. For general purposes these indices and hieroglyphics can be easily neglected, while anyone who may wish to study one of the particular points so indicated will readily carry in his head the particular bit of notation which belongs to that particular point, and in using a single column small figures should not be found very troublesome.

6. The 'special features' have been consigned to foot notes, but for lack of space these have been cut down severely both in number and length. Probably little would have been gained by extending them ; so many entries have some feature outside the common form that to mention every one of them would take a great deal of room, and after all for any particular detail the student would still in most cases have to refer to the text.

The hundreds in each county are arranged in alphabetical order. There is some disadvantage in this, but in practice I have, on the whole, found tables with this arrangement easier to use than those in which the order of the hundreds is geographical and not easily remembered. In arranging the individual entries the primary object is to reconstruct the divided villis. To show the 5-hide system I have carried out into a separate column the total hidage of these divided villis and occasionally also, where it will help the eye, the round assessments of villis which were not divided. As to the order of the villis in each hundred there is a little difficulty. Most of the hundreds are contained within a single page, so there is happily no need for alphabetical order, which has no merit except convenience of reference. A geographical order would clearly be the best if all hundreds were long and narrow ; but as most of them tend to be more or less round or square, an attempt to give the relative position of the villages by the linear

arrangement of a single column must be unsatisfactory and in some cases misleading. It has therefore seemed well to follow to a great extent the order of Domesday and preserve in each hundred much of the arrangement by fiefs. The order of the survey is disturbed by bringing together the fragments of villages which were divided between different owners, and it has been disturbed somewhat more to bring out the grouping by 5-hide units, so that the result is something of a compromise; some church estates, generally small, are embedded amongst the laymen, and some estates of laymen amongst those of the church. But for the most part the lands of the church precede in each table those of the laymen and with some exceptions the lands of each fief lie mainly together or in two groups, so that by turning the pages the chief lands of any church or large fief may generally be followed through the county without much difficulty. The arrangement is a little irregular, but will I think in practice prove the most convenient. In some hundreds however of Bucks and Herts the villages were so much divided that their reconstruction has torn the fiefs all to pieces. This is also the case in most of Bedfordshire, but there we have compensation, for we are able to follow pretty closely the order of the original returns on which Domesday was based. An attempt has been made to replace the geography which has been neglected in the tables by placing below each table a diagram showing roughly the relative position of the villages in the hundred.

No attempt is made to summarise the entries for the county towns or other entries, e. g. Southwark, (32 a 1) which give similar details; but the hides of Hertford and Buckingham are entered in the tables.

As to the grouping of villages of which the hides are not exactly 5, 10, 15 etc., if village M has 12 hides and the adjoining village N has 8 hides, it does not follow that M and N were originally parts of one vill or rating of 20 hides. Though they are grouped together in the table to show the 5-hide system, it is likely enough that they were originally separate vills of 10 hides each, but that 2 hides of N, perhaps in an outlying hamlet, had been attached to some estate in M; in some counties this may be the case even if N is separated from M. In many cases the grouping of the irregular ratings is obvious, but in some hundreds it must to a certain extent be a matter of conjecture and different persons may lean to different groupings. In such hundreds the grouping adopted here does not profess to certainty,—where Domesday gives no place name it may be purely guesswork—but only to show that the irregular ratings are quite consistent with the 5-hide system. To arrive at complete certainty in the grouping would I fear be impossible. This is unfortunate, for difference of grouping may make a difference in the correction of the total hidage of the hundred, and thereby affect the total for the county. But even if it were possible by a comparison of Domesday with other evidence to attain to a perfect grouping, it would be practically impossible to prove it to the reader who is in search of general results, for to appreciate the proof he would be obliged to go into the whole evidence himself in detail. It is safer not to attempt too much and not to lay too much stress on the exact grouping; in aiming at a perfect arrangement the grouping would run great risk of being affected by the almost irresistible attraction of neat round totals for hundred and county. That the true and original hidage

of each county or pair of counties was neat and round we may confidently expect; but for the proof it seems best to depend on the cumulative evidence of the constant approach to round figures of approximate totals which do not involve a certain answer to every puzzle; apart from questions of grouping, there are enough doubtful entries to interfere with the certainty of any exact count of the hides in almost every county.

The hide seems to have been once connected with an area of some 120 acres, probably as the typical holding of the typical family; but it need hardly be said that the hides of Domesday are not measures of area, but of assessment. In counting hides where Domesday gives more than one figure, the original assessment is taken to be the larger number, whether that is entered as the hides at which the land "was rated T.R.E.", or the hides which the tenant "holds" or which "are there," though geld is paid on less. Elaborate explanations have sometimes been given of these double ratings, but that in all these entries the larger numbers represent original hides of just the same kind and belonging to just the same system as the common hides recorded in the rest of Domesday seems quite clear. The double ratings are of two kinds. In one class are the entries in the south-eastern counties of Sussex, Surrey, Hants and Berks, where the alterations of rating are so many as to make it certain that, apart from some rearrangement of estates in Sussex, they must be the result of general reductions granted in those counties. Such general reduction in certain hundreds of Cambridgeshire, distributed for the most part *pro rata*, is proved by the 'Inquisition' of that county, though practically neglected in Domesday,¹ and a similar reduction can be proved all through Northants, though Domesday only gives the reduced hidage.² In the south-eastern counties the mode of distribution is not clear; it was not *pro rata*. It has been suggested in the note to Surrey (p. 5), that it may have been first to the hundred and within the hundred by fiefs, the owner of the fief redistributing as he pleased—often taking a large share of the reduction for his demesne manors, so as to give some of the effect of special privileges.

In the other class are reductions given by special privilege to individual estates. In these cases the tables will show that it is the hides "there" which belong to the general 5-hide system, and if we compare with one another the varying phrases used as to the reduction, we see that the use of hides "there" is equivalent to that of hides of assessment "T.R.E." or earlier, the variation of phrase being due merely to the fancy of the Domesday scribes.³ For example:

Farnham (40 b 1) "T.R.E. et modo se defendit pro 20 hidis; tamen sunt [ibi] numero 30; sed Rex E. ita donavit."

Waltham (40 a 2) "T.R.E. et modo se defendit pro 20 hidis, quamvis sint ibi 30 hidæ numero."

Bray (57 a 2) "Ibi 18 hidæ et non geldaverunt."

Mascewelle (138 a 1) "pro 14 hidis se defendit T.R.E.; et modo pro 3 hid. 2½ virg.; tamen sunt [ibi] semper 14 hidæ."

¹ Round, Feudal England, p. 50.

² English Historical Review, xvii, 76, 470 (1902). In Kent also it seems probable that the hides given in Domesday are the result of a general reduction.

³ See also V. H. Hants, i. 403.

The hides "there" are obviously at Mascewelle the hides of assessment T.R.E. and at Farnham the hides of the original assessment; those at Waltham must clearly be similar, for the entry is exactly parallel to Farnham, except that the history of the reduction is omitted. One common variety of special privilege is that in which we are told that so many hides "are there," but they "have not paid" or "have never paid" geld. The "nunquam" however does not seem intended to go back beyond King Edward's day, though perhaps somewhat beyond Christmas 1065-6, the strict T.R.E. of Domesday.¹ Indeed "nunquam" may only mean 'never since the conquest,' for in Sussex we read of Staninges "tunc se defendit pro 18 hid. 3 virg.; nunquam geldavit," and there are similar entries for Beddinges and Herst.² There is no reason to doubt that these hides which "never paid geld" were once common hides of assessment, though the geld had afterwards been released, and we shall find them fit into the general 5-hide system.

The old ratings seem to have been used for other purposes than collection of the 'geld,' specially so called,³ but it would be a sufficient reason for preserving them in the case of general county reductions that no doubt such reductions were looked upon as temporary, at least in theory; in both Surrey and Berkshire the old ratings appear later to have been actually restored (pp. 7, 46.) The strange thing is, not that the old system was preserved in the south-east, but that it was entirely neglected by the compilers of Domesday in Northants and practically also in Cambridgeshire. In the case of special immunities, presumably permanent, the preservation of the old hidage would be useful to the officials for the sake of account-keeping, so that the money actually due from the county from time to time might be balanced with its old round standard assessment; perhaps also to the owner to show that the estate was still the same.

So far as I recollect, no two computations of any set of Domesday figures for a county have ever exactly agreed, and no one who has tried to make such a computation can be astonished thereat. Even apart from traps in Domesday not a few and the risk of copying and printing, it is surprising how many little doubts arise when we want the exact meaning of every item in every entry. Fortunately a certain amount of doubt or error need not be fatal to the usefulness of Domesday tables. Their main object is to help us to get, through the details, a general view of the county and of the country. The detail is necessary, because without it averages make a dangerous foundation to build upon and unavoidably give an impression of uniformity where there may in fact be great variety and very wide differences; but happily, though it does not come well from the maker of tables, for a general view nothing turns on any particular church or mill or on some villeins more or less in a county total. For some want of uniformity in details apology has been made in the preface;

¹ We may compare the common form "semper valuit 5l.," meaning in 1065 as in 1086, or perhaps only in 1067 or 'quando receptum' as in 1086. Anything beyond Edward's day was altogether beyond the scope of the enquiry, if not beyond the memory of the jurors.

² D.B. 28 a 2, 28 a 1, 27 a 1. See also Woodmansterne in Surrey (Odemerestor, 35 a 1) 'tunc et modo se defendit pro 15 hidis sed nunquam geldum dedit'; Tuesley 30 b 2; and Wantage in Berks (57 a 1) 'tunc et modo 4 hidæ; nunquam geldaverunt.'

³ V. H. Hants i. 404; Vinogradof, English Society in 11th Century, 181.

for spelling, uniformity has in truth no place in 1086. Did not so accurate a lawyer as Sir Edward Coke, 500 years later, spell his own name with his own hand and within a few lines in different ways ?¹

Treating each county in a separate note involves some repetition, but in the present state of our knowledge it is well to consider Domesday county by county. Different counties are described on somewhat different lines, items given in one are omitted in another, men called cotters in one place are elsewhere called bordars, even in another hundred of the same county (pp. 9, 11, 40, 95), and we must always be on our guard against arguments based on the silence of Domesday ; e. g. it is certain that there were many more socmen in Northants in 1065 than are mentioned in Domesday (p. 174), and not impossible that there were a good many more in Surrey. In a good many cases suggestions have been offered which go beyond the evidence available, because here again it has seemed to me that, in the present stage of our knowledge, suggestions may often be useful as working hypotheses, even though the evidence for them falls short, even very short, of complete proof.

¹ Mr. A. M. Stirling's *Coke of Norfolk*, i, 72.

NOTE ON THE TABLES FOR SURREY

It may be well in the first place to repeat that no attempt is made in these notes to deal fully with any feature of the Surrey Domesday, much less with the whole of it. They are only intended to set up a few signposts and offer a few suggestions for the assistance or consideration of others. It may also be repeated that the towns are impossible to tabulate; Guildford has therefore been entirely omitted and also the entry as to Southwark on f 32 a 1. The survey for Surrey is less complete in its detail than that of some other counties. Many entries give only two valuations and not a few only one. In many cases the hidage is given vaguely without saying if it was the same in 1065 as in 1086 and in still more the teamlands are omitted altogether. For convenience in comparing the totals an estimate for the omitted values or teamlands of 1065 has in the table sometimes been given in square brackets, but in some hundreds there are so many omissions of the teamlands that no attempt has been made to supply them.

Nor are the lands in Surrey very neatly arranged, for the order of the hundreds is not always the same and in large fiefs the lands in each hundred are not always grouped together. In the fief of Richard fitz Gilbert we have the succession Brixton, "Cherchefelle" (Reigate), Wallington, Copthorn, Emleybridge, Copthorn, Kingston, Emleybridge, Effingham, Blackheath, Kingston, Copthorn, Effingham, Woking, Wotton. The Chertsey fief has Wallington, Tandridge, Emleybridge, Copthorn, Kingston, Emleybridge, which gives us the same order and the same repetition of Emleybridge; but in Odo's fief (iii) we have Tandridge, Wallington, Brixton, Cherchefelle, Brixton, Copthorn, Emleybridge, Kingston. The last three hundreds however generally come together, as also Brixton, Wallington, Tandridge and Cherchefelle. The hundreds are carefully rubricated, but there are one or two cases of omission. Woking should stand on f 34 b 1 against Borham, for there is little doubt that Burgham and Worpleston, which follows it, were in Woking hundred not in Wotton. On f 32 b 1, Emleybridge should probably have been set against the Chertsey lands at Weybridge; they stand under a Copthorn rubric and Weybridge is on the borders of that hundred, but there is much irregularity in the order of the hundreds among the entries of the Chertsey fief and on f 32 a 1 Weybridge is rubricated as in Emleybridge, to which hundred it now belongs. Brixton is no doubt omitted on f 34 a 2 against the 5 hides at Estreham (Streatham) held by the Count of Mortain; they stand under a Wallington rubric, but two other Estrehams are rubricated Brixton and these 5 hides have bordars, like the rest of Brixton, instead of the cotters which are the rule in Wallington. It is

true that, if in Brixton, these 5 hides ought to have followed the count's manor of Lambeth in that hundred, instead of coming after his land in Wallington, but such irregularities are common in Surrey. Most likely the 1 hide at 'Estreham' on f 32 a 1, held by Hamo of the Abbot of Chertsey, which stands last under a Kingston rubric, also belonged to Streatham in Brixton hundred, for Ham near Kingston had no connection with Chertsey¹ and the same Hamo held of Chertsey two estates in Tooting which adjoins Streatham on the west. It looks as if this was not a case of omitted rubric, but that the Abbey, which had no other land in Brixton hundred, had transferred this hide into the hundred of Kingston. It has been tabulated with the rest of Streatham under Brixton.

In the identification of the larger estates there are few puzzles. It is generally agreed that "Witford" was near Mitcham, and that "Bocheham" on f 35 b 2 was properly "Hocheham," now Ockham, while the nameless manor of 14 hides in Tandridge hundred on f 34 b 2 seems coupled by its hidation with Farley and may probably be Warlingham. There are however a good many smaller holdings, both with and without names, which have not been placed or not with any certainty. Several nameless entries in Wallington hundred have an amount of meadow which suggests that they lay on the Wandle near Mitcham; they are connected with that neighbourhood by their tenants, the Count of Mortain, Hamo and the Saxon Ulward, who also held land in Tooting or Streatham.

In the hidation of the county T.R.E. the five-hide system is generally prominent. As to the individual entries there are a good many small difficulties. The common form of entry in Surrey is "A holds M; assessment T.R.E. *a* hides, now *c* hides," but there are a number of entries like this, "A holds 1 hide in M;" sometimes it is said later, "now it is assessed for *c* virgates," but in many cases nothing at all is said as to the rating in 1086.² In these last cases we must take the 1 hide as the T.R.E. assessment, but we are obliged to take it also as the assessment of 1086. Besides these entries, which are mostly small, there are others more or less puzzling the details of which are given later at the end of this note. In consequence of these doubtful entries we cannot arrive with absolute certainty at the exact number of hides which it was intended to record in Surrey (apart from omissions), but when duplications have been corrected and puzzles deciphered as far as may be, the hidage seems to work out approximately as given on the opposite page.³ The total hidage of the county T.R.E. is approximately 2000 hides. Exactly 2000 can easily be reached by correction, indeed by more than one set of corrections, and there seems little doubt that 2000 was the true assessment, but there are enough entries as to which there is some doubt to make actual proof of any exact total out of the question. We have one bit of evidence to carry this hidation back a hundred years, for Send in Woking hundred had 20 hides about 970 as it had in 1065.⁴ The Burghal Hidage gives 'Eashing (in Godalming) and Southwark 1800 hides,' possibly 1800 apiece;⁵ but did these hides exactly represent Surrey?

¹ V.H. i. 308 n. 6. The other Ham there suggested near Chertsey lies west of the Wey in Godley Hundred.

² E.g. Driteham, 35 a 2, b 1.

³ Somewhat more duplication has been allowed for than in Eng. Hist. Rev. xvii. 290.

⁴ Earle, Land Charters, 203.

⁵ Maitland, D.B. and B. 503.

HUNDREDS	HIDES 1065		HIDES 1086	
	RECORDED	¹ CORRECTED	RECORDED	CORRECTED
A Tandridge	210 $\frac{1}{4}$	say 210	A 34 $\frac{3}{4}$	say 35
B Wallington	378	380 (?375)	B 116 $\frac{3}{4}$	{ 115 ² 70
C Copthorn	197(?91)	200 (?195)	C 68 $\frac{1}{8}$	
D Brixton	282 $\frac{3}{4}$ (?90 $\frac{1}{4}$)	285 (?290)	D 114 $\frac{1}{4}$	115
E Kingston	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 ³	E 21 $\frac{3}{4}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$
F Emleybridge	122 $\frac{1}{4}$	120 ³ -5	F 45 $\frac{1}{2}$	
G Godley	100	100	G 47 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 $\frac{1}{2}$
H Woking	149 $\frac{1}{2}$	150	H 67 $\frac{7}{8}$	?68 $\frac{1}{2}$ †
I Farnham	60	60	I 40	40
K Godalming	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 (?97 $\frac{1}{2}$)	K 35 $\frac{1}{4}$	35
L Blackheath	85	85	L 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ †
M Effingham	48 $\frac{1}{4}$	50	M 22 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{1}{2}$
N Wotton	57 $\frac{1}{4}$ -9 $\frac{1}{4}$	57 $\frac{1}{2}$ -60 ³	N 27 $\frac{1}{2}$	27 $\frac{1}{2}$
O Reigate	103-6 $\frac{1}{2}$	102 $\frac{1}{2}$ -5-10	O 50	50
	1988-2005	1990-2010 (?20) ⁴	698	700

In the reduced hidation of 1086 it is well to begin with the hundreds. In several of these — Godley, Farnham, Tandridge, Effingham and Reigate — the figures are all straightforward, every item being given quite plainly. Now in every one of these hundreds the total is a multiple of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ (except for a missing $\frac{1}{4}$ in Tandridge) and it appears therefore clear that a 5-hide or 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ -hide system was used in the distribution of the remissions among the hundreds. The total for the county seems to be 700 hides, but neither the roundness nor the exact significance of this figure are quite clear. As to the round 700 there are two difficulties: First the entries mentioned above, which say that A. holds 1 hide or 2 hides without a word as to T.R.E. or T.R.W.; and secondly a couple of ambiguous entries. On f 35-6 Wandsworth is "rated then and now at 12 hides," and it has been so tabulated; the details seem to make it pay for only 1 hide, or perhaps for 4; possibly this was the result of later remissions. On f 35 a 1 we read that Odemerestor (Woodmansterne) was "rated then and now at 15 hides, (but) it has never paid geld;" it is tabulated as 15 hides in 1086. As to the interpretation of the figures, the whole of Odo's big Manor of Bramley is free from geld and so is Limpsfield held by Battle Abbey. What was the relation of these remissions to the general scheme of reduced assessment which we find in 1086? Apparently they must have been made either before, or at the same time as, the readjustment

¹ In the 'recorded' figures the simpler duplications have been corrected.

² Two hides seem to have been transferred after 1066 from Cuddington in Copthorn to Wallington hundred; see p. 16 below.

³ There is probably some duplication, due to disputed titles, in the recorded hides of Kingston,

Emleybridge and perhaps Wotton.

⁴ Probably 2000. Mr. Corbett does not agree with my reading of several of the doubtful entries, but he kindly tells me that somewhat different interpretations bring him to the same corrected total of 2000.

of the Surrey assessment. There may also be doubt as to the exact position of the royal manors; more than half of them are entirely freed, while the rest are not reduced at all; ¹ Ewell is said to have paid T.R.W. "*ad firman*" and Cherchefelle "*ad opus regis*."

The distribution of the earlier assessment between the Surrey hundreds is very unequal. We are much tempted to suppose that the hundreds named in Domesday were at some earlier time divisions equal or about equal one to another, but Surrey is a good example of the difficulty, urged by Stubbs, that this theory does not agree with the hundreds as we find them in Domesday. Not only do the Domesday hundreds in Surrey differ as widely as from 50 or 60 hides to 380, but the big hundreds all lie together. We might conceivably rearrange some boundaries; we could possibly supplement Farnham and Blackheath from Woking; we might roll Effingham into Wotton, and divide Copthorne into two; but we should still be left with Brixton and Tandridge and Wallington lying together in the north-east, the first with 280 hides, the second with 210, the third with 380. It is conceivable that there might have been a later increase of assessment following on increased cultivation, though an increase from 100 hides to 280 or 380 would be large, but in that case we should expect the assessment of the individual villages to correspond more or less to their team-lands, which is far from being the case. For instance we have

In Brixton.		In Tandridge.		In Wallington.	
Clapham	10 h. 7c.	Oxted	20 h. 20 c.	Cheam	20 h. 14c.
Tooting	22 „ 6	Titsey	20 „ 8	Beddington	50 „ 14
Wandsworth	13 „ 5	Blechingley	10 „ 16	Woodmansterne	15 „ 3
Lambeth	16 „ 18	Chivington	20 „ 12	Sanderstead	18 „ 10

It is not easy to believe that the assessment of Brixton or Wallington, as bounded in 1086, was ever only a hundred hides. It seems easier, if every original hundred must have a hundred hides, to suppose that, as many a modern hundred covers two or more Domesday hundreds, so these large Domesday hundreds were made up of two or three or four original hundreds; but then we must not take the number of hundreds named in each county by Domesday as the exact number of original hundreds. At the same time the assessments of Brixton and Tandridge are comparatively heavy and that of Wallington very heavy. Compared with the 100 hides and 70-80 teamlands, worth £70-80, of Kingston or Godalming the 180-90 teamlands of Wallington, worth as many pounds, might justify a correction of its rating to some 250 hides, but it has 380. Not only Wallington, but all that part of the county which lies on the chalk downs or their northern edge is more heavily rated than the western hundreds. Copthorn hundred, which adjoins Wallington on the west, has 200 hides against 106 teams and £112 value T.R.E. The hundred of Reigate on the south west of Wallington has its northern half on the chalk downs and its southern half below them. The southern half, comprising the manors of Reigate, Buckland and Nutfield, has 56 hides against 56 teams, 27 of which were worth £18; the northern half has 50 hides against only 25 teams, worth about £25. The hundred

¹ There is no real reduction at Ewell or Bermondsey; as to Cherchefelle see p. 15 below.

of Tandridge also on the eastern edge of Wallington lies half on the chalk downs and half below them. Oxted, Godstone (Wachelstede), Tandridge and Bletchingley, all below the downs, have 80 hides against 76 teamlands and £55 value: ¹ the manors on the chalk have 85 hides against only 38 teamlands and £51 value. It is much the same in Berkshire (p. 41).

For the most prominent puzzle in Surrey, the distribution in detail of the reductions made before 1086, no solution has been found. Small reductions at Ewell and Bermondsey seem due to reduction in the size of those manors between 1065 and 1086 (see p. 15). Part of the reduction at Battersea was probably due to a like cause, and there may be other similar cases which we cannot trace. But generally speaking the reductions of hidage must be due to reduced assessment. In most manors the reduction is large, but in some it is small, and in one or two, besides the royal manors and the small entries, there is none at all. ² There is no general adaptation of the new assessment either to the teams or to the value of each manor in 1086, as may be seen in the following instances. ³

	Hid.	Car.	Val.	Teams.
Chivington (In Tandridge)	6	12	£10	12½
Chelsham and (?) Warlingham	6	12	23	16
Bletchingley and Tandridge	5	26	26	28
Wanborough (In Woking)	3	7	7	9
Horsley Do.	3⅜	5	4	8½
Do. Do.	8	6	6	7

It is natural to suppose that the general reduction was originally connected with the damage done at the conquest, but it must be confessed that the reductions do not agree with the distribution of the damage done in 1086 as recorded by the Domesday valuations. To take an instance from the hundred of Brixton, the assessment of Camberwell was reduced by one half, which is in proportion to the loss of value between 1065 and 1067, but Clapham and one Lambeth drop nearly three quarters of their hides though they were not damaged at all, while another Lambeth gets entirely freed though the damage was only 20 per cent. Again let us look at Tandridge hundred; the proportion of the later to the earlier hides at Oxted ($\frac{5}{8}$) is nearly double that at Godstone ($\frac{3}{8}$) though Oxted suffered the greater damage and both were held by Count Eustace; the proportion at Bletchingley was $\frac{3}{10}$, but at Titsey only $\frac{1}{2}$, though the damage in each was about the same, forty per cent. Similar differences may be found on every page of the Surrey Domesday.

The only suggestion that offers itself, and it is only a suggestion, is this. There is evidence that in Northamptonshire remissions made in connection with 1065-6 were later (1075-85), when the damage had been repaired, redistributed by the shire court and the hundred courts amongst all lands in the county in proportion to their original hidage. ⁴ It seems not impossible to suppose that there may also have been a redistribution

¹ Chivington next Bletchingley stands for 20 hid. 12 car. £11, and Limpsheld next Oxted for 25 hid. 12 car. £20; but Limpsheld had 19 teams at work, so that the 12 teamlands look doubtful.

² Shalford in Blackheath, Mickleham in Copt-

horn, Chertsey and Chobham in Godley, Mitcham in Wallington, Send in Woking.

³ Cf. V.H. i. 276.

⁴ Eng. Hist. Rev. xvii 479.

of similar remissions in the south-eastern counties, but that the system on which it was made was different. In Hampshire we find on the large fief of Hugh de Port that nearly all the reductions are on the estates held by him in demesne and very few on those held of him by subinfeudation; it looks as if Hugh himself had controlled the distribution. In the Isle of Wight the total reduction on the fiefs of the three lay tenants in chief appears to be the very round figure of 25 hides.¹ There are many entries in each fief which show no reduction, but the total reduction in each fief is roughly proportionate to the total original hidage of the fief. The reductions are as follows.

Will. f. Stur.		Will. f. Azor.		Goz. f. Azor.	
	3 virg.		1 virg.	1 hid.	2½ virg.
1 hid.	...		1 "	2 "	½ "
1 "	...	1 hid.	...		1 "
2 "	2 "	2 "	3 "	1 "	3 "
	3½ "		1 "	2 "	3½ "
	1 "	1 "	1½ "		
2 "	...		3½ "	8 hid.	2½ virg.
	3 "		2 "	7 "	1 "
				9 "	½ "
<hr/> 9 hid. ½ virg.		<hr/> 7 hid. 1 virg.		<hr/> 25 hides.	

If my count is right the reduction in the king's lands in Bowcombe hundred (ff52-3) is altogether 25 hides $\frac{1}{4}$ (or $1\frac{1}{4}$) virg.,² and that in the rest of the Island as follows; the king (ff39b-40) 20 h. $1\frac{1}{4}$ v., St Mary's Wilton $2\frac{1}{2}$ hide,² St. Nicholas 1 hide, St Mary's Lyre 1 h. $3\frac{3}{4}$ v., Alsi king's thegn 1 hide, together $24\frac{3}{4}$ hides. It looks as if a total reduction of 75 hides for the Island was divided into three equal portions of 25 each. Besides this Canborne held by the Bishop of Winchester, originally 32 hides, but reduced before the conquest by 15 hides to 17, was left at the 17 hides of 1065. It seems possible that, the reductions in Surrey Hants and Berks having been re-apportioned in 1075-85 amongst the hundreds in multiples of $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides, the further apportionment was made, not amongst the villages or the manors, but amongst the tenants in chief in each hundred, each tenant being left to distribute his share between his various estates as he thought fit. In many cases he would probably distribute it in some rough proportion either to the old hidage or to the actual condition of each manor at the time, but in other cases he might act on motives which we cannot now follow. A large share of the reduction might often be taken for the demesne manor or manors, so as to give the effect of special privilege. In Sussex however the reduction appears to have no connection with the damage done in 1066, but to have been purely a matter of favour, for in the rape of Hastings, which was almost entirely wasted in 1066, it was only 10 per cent, but 60 or 70 per cent in Bramber,³ which had hardly suffered at all. In the others it was 20 to 25 per cent though Lewes had suffered very much less than Chichester. On

¹ D.B. 52b-3a.

² Alvington (in Carisbrooke) drops 2 virgates, but 1 virgate seems a later remission on the

building of the castle. Of St Mary's (Wilton) manor $\frac{1}{2}$ hide was 'in the king's park'.

³ V.H. Sussex, i. 361.

whatever system the reductions found in Surrey were made, the old assessments appear to have been afterwards restored, with some exceptions, for the Pipe Roll of 1130 accounts for 1750½ hides and some of the assessments, which can be identified, agree with those of 1065 as given in Domesday.¹

The teamlands in Surrey differ constantly from the teams at work in 1086, being sometimes more and sometimes less, but do not differ from them much in the totals. The proportion of teamlands to the hides of 1065 varies very widely in different hundreds and also in different villages within the same hundred. For every ten hides the hundreds of Reigate, Kingston, Effingham, Godalming and Tandridge have about seven teamlands, but Blackheath and Godley have ten and Wallington only five. Kingston and Godalming are convenient hundreds to show that in the villages the variation is even wider. The proportion of teams 'in demesne' varies with the size of the estate; the larger estates have generally a smaller proportion 'in demesne' than the smaller ones, and this is to be remembered when we are considering the number of 'servi' on the church estates, which were often large. Roughly speaking, of 2 teams one will be 'in demesne,' but a manor with 6 to 10 teams will generally have 'in demesne' only 2 teams, and one with 20 teams only 3; cases of more than 3 teams 'in demesne' are few and Surrey has altogether a somewhat smaller proportion of its teams 'in demesne' than some other counties. The proportion of 'men,' i. e. villeins and bordars, to the men's teams is also larger in small estates; speaking again very roughly, in a manor with 8 or 10 or 20 men's teams there will seldom be more than 4, generally about 3, and sometimes only 2 men to the team, but where there is only 1 men's team there will generally be 6 or 7 'men.' In the majority of these small estates there are no 'servi;' were the oxmen of the demesne included in Surrey and Berks among the bordars?

Except in small holdings and in some royal manors we generally have three valuations, "T.R.E.," "post," and "modo." For the Chertsey manors, however, there are with one or two slight exceptions no valuations 'post;' perhaps in large fiefs the steward or stewards had something to do with the returns. "*Valet et valuit*" has been taken as meaning "*valuit semper*," i.e. from 1065.² In many places there was no loss of value at the conquest, in others a heavy fall; but even in the latter the values had in 1086 risen again and were as a rule quite as high as in 1065. It will be convenient to take these changes in value together with those of other counties in an appendix.

It is often said of the Saxon holder in Surrey that he "could go (*ire*) whither he would" i.e. to what lord he chose, "with his land" being occasionally added and probably always to be understood. Once instead of *ire* we have *abire* (36 a 1. end), once *recedere*, once *secedere*, and several

¹ V.H. i. 277. Why Send in Woking had no reduction from the 20 hides of 1065 is still a puzzle, for it is the only Surrey manor of Alfred de Marlborough; perhaps it had been in the king's hands after the Conquest—the "20 hides at Send" seem to have passed to the king 100 years earlier (Earle, Land Charters, 203) and may have remained with him, Carlo the holder in

1065 being possibly only tenant for life.

² In some counties, however, we have continually '*valet et valuit* £ a; T.R.E. £ b;' and in Cambridgeshire and Devonshire the '*valuit*' and '*olim valuit*' of D.B. correspond to '*quando receptum*' in the I.C.C. and the Exeter Domesday. In these cases therefore the '*valuit*' cannot go back beyond 1067.

times *se vertere*.¹ The power is sometimes contrasted with tenure under a lord. At Chipstead (Tepested, f33) "terra Turgisi erat de abbacia; Ulf potuit ire quo voluit." "Alfred held Cumbe (36 b 1) of the king and could go etc.," but his successor "put herself with the land in the hand of the queen." The holders of part of Esher (Aissela, 32 b 1) "could turn whither they would, but for protection submitted themselves to the Abbey" of Chertsey.² In Copthorn hundred (36 b 2 line 31) Seman held of the king and could turn etc. but after the conquest "servivit Oswaldo." So also at Cuddington (31 b 2) the "allodiarum qui cum terra recedere poterant" were apparently not attached to the large manor held there by Leofwine. On the other hand this description was not necessarily inconsistent with some form of tenure under a lord. In the big manor of Bramley (31 a 2) held T.R.E. by Alnod there were freemen, holding four hides, who could "secedere de Alnod." Godtovi (35 b 2) held five hides at Tadorne "of (*de*) Earl Harold and could go etc."³ At Ditton (32 a 1) "Luegar held of Earl Harold *et serviebat ei*, but could have gone with his land whither he would."⁴ But the position of such tenants must have been a very 'free' one; perhaps they were generally cases of commendation where the land had come to the lord from and with the tenant. On f31 b 2 line 18, we are specially told of 1¼ hide that "Levric *tenuit de Heraldo liberam* and could go etc.;" while on f35 b 1 we read that men "ita liberi fuerunt quod poterant ire quo voluerunt."

The power to "go" did not, of course, belong to every free tenant.⁶ There would naturally be no power to go 'with the land' in the case of the ordinary under-tenant, where the land had come to the tenant from the lord. It would not generally be necessary to mention this, but sometimes an abbey thought it well to have the fact on record. The four freemen, for instance, who at Micheldever in Hants held T.R.E. Cranbourne, Drayton, Stratton and Popham "for four manors," could *not* "recedere cum terra." Archbishop Stigand held Redbourne in Herts but "could not alienate it from St. Alban's church."⁷ The precaution was not unnecessary, for Domesday shows that the abbeyes lost at the conquest many estates held of them for life or lives. The "*ire potuit*" of Surrey and Hants appears to correspond to the "*vendere potuit sine licentia*" of Middlesex, Bucks, Herts, and other counties.⁸ But whereas the latter is used perpetually in Bucks and Herts, the former is found only occasionally in Surrey and no inference can be drawn from its absence. Perhaps it was chiefly inserted in the original return when there was some special reason, and even then sometimes omitted by the compilers of Domesday Book;⁹ it is not generally used of the larger holders.

¹ Brunlei, 31 a 2; Codintone, 31 b 2; Webruge, 32 a 1; 33 bis; Epsa, 35 a 2; in Wallington Hd. 36 a 1. end. In Hants we have occasionally *recedere* (or *vertere*) *ad alium dominum* (Ciltcumbe, 41 a 1; in Neteham Hd. 47 a 2). Cf. Round, Feudal England, p. 25, Maitland, D.B. and B. pp. 66-106.

² We must not however lay stress on '*sed*;' in Domesday it differs little from '*et*.'

³ Goltovi, probably the same man, held 20 hides at Titsey in Tandridge Hd.

⁴ "Serviebat" must not be taken to mark inferior tenure; for 1¼ hides in Cambridgeshire (200 a 2 1 line 34) Picot the sheriff "*servit abbati*,

et tenet eam jussu regis."

⁵ In Northants '*ire quo voluit*,' which occurs occasionally, seems to be used as equivalent to '*libere*;' D.B. 225 a 2, 229 a 2, cf. Sulgrave, 227 a 2.

⁶ The Surrey compiler thought fit to mention (35 a 1) that the three Saxon thegns who held Walton-on-hill 'for three manors' *could* go whither they would.

⁷ D.B. 42 b; 135 b 2.

⁸ Cf. Round, Feudal England, 22-5.

⁹ The Exeter Domesday has occasionally "*tenuit A... et poterat ire cum terra ad quem dominum voluisset*." The corresponding entries

The cotters in Surrey are an interesting feature. Bordars and cotters never occur together in the same entry. Cotters, of which there are some 270, are the rule in the hundreds of Emleybridge in the west, of Wallington in the east, and of Godalming in the south. We have cotters too in the large half of Blackheath which belonged to the Bishop of Bayeux's big manor of Bramley, but bordars in the rest of the hundred; and we may note that, while the two chief estates at Clandon have bordars like the rest of Woking hundred, a cotter is given to 2 hides at Clandon which had been attached by Odo to Bramley and are there surveyed. We have the converse of Blackheath in Wallington hundred, where the king's manor and the archbishop's great estate at Croydon have bordars in a hundred of cotters. So also in Godalming hundred the king's manor alone has bordars, all other owners including the church of Godalming having cotters. Other cases of variation within the same hundred are rare. Three bordars are found under a Wallington rubric on the 5 hides held by the Count of Mortain at Estreham, but probably this entry has lost its proper rubric and should, as we have seen (p. 1), be with other Streathams in Brixton hundred. The Bishop of Bayeux has two irregular bordars at Mitcham in Wallington and another at Weybridge in Emleybridge. Finally in Emleybridge of two estates at Molesey held by Richard de Tonbridge one, strange to say, has cotters and the other bordars. These irregular bordars at Mitcham, Weybridge and Molesey were probably mere slips of the pen. Apparently the names bordar and cotter have in Surrey the same meaning, one or the other being used at the fancy of the jury or sometimes of the steward of a large manor. Probably the king's lands were taken from a special return.¹ Probably also the return for a large manor such as Croydon or Bramley, including perhaps many 'members,' was taken mainly, if not entirely, from the steward of the manor; it is difficult to see how else it could have been obtained. The peculiarity in the Chertsey fief of giving only the valuations T.R.E. and in 1086, but not as a rule '*post*,' seems to point to the hand of the Chertsey steward, and the exact shillings accounted for in many considerable valuations look as if they had been furnished by the lord's steward rather than by the jury for the hundred.

As in Surrey the cotters are peculiar to certain hundreds which have no local connection, the use of that name appears to be due to separate returns for the different hundreds, and to show that, though in the large Surrey fiefs the hundreds are not arranged with the regularity which we find in Herts and Bucks and Cambridgeshire, the original return for Surrey was nevertheless drawn up hundred by hundred as in the well known Cambridgeshire Inquisition. We need not suppose that the com-

in D.B. give at Tavi and Dwetlands simply "*ire quo volebat*" (108 b 2, 112 b 1; Exon. 296, 362); at Nimetone, Ninet, Schipbroc and Wiche "*A liber homo (or libere) tenebat*" (101 a 2, 112 b 1bis, 113 a 1; Exon. 90, 363-4, 390); but merely "*A tenebat*" at Statford and Bremelcombe (116 a 2bis; Exon. 421bis) and in various entries on f104 b (Exon. 190-5). The phrases are neatly brought together at Coltrige, where D.B. 112 a has "*qui tenebat potuit ire cum terra quo voluit*" against "*liber tagnus ad progendum quocunque voluit*." Exon. 327. The corresponding entries are given on opposite pages in the 'Devonshire Domesday'

published by the Devonshire Association.

¹ Mr. Round infers that this was also the case in Somersetshire (V.H. i 426) from comparison of the different entries as to Preston in Brunetone, D.B. 86 b 92; Exon. 94, 474, 478, 252. Attention has been called to the Surrey cotters by Mr. Malden, Domesday studies, ii. 470, V.H. i. 292. In Wilts we have the inferior villeins named in variable order; e.g. 66 a 2, at Wintrebourne, cotter bordar; 68 b, at Boscombe, coscets cotters; at Devrel, coscets bordars; at Latone, bordars cotters; at Retmore, bordars coscets.

missioners who collected the returns made a tour of the various hundred-courts. From the frequent reference to the testimony of "the shire" or "the whole shire" the returns sent up to Winchester had pretty clearly the authority of a general shire-moot in each county. It is possible that separate returns were first collected from the different hundred courts by the officials of the commissioners or of the sheriff and then referred at a later date to the commissioners and a general shire court, but the testimonies of 'the shire' and 'the hundred' are all through Domesday alternated and often combined in such a way that they seem to belong to one and the same inquest. The heading too of the *Inquisitio Eliensis* seems to contemplate the oaths "of all the barons and frenchmen" and those of the "centuriatus" being taken at one and the same inquiry.¹ "All the barons" must mean all in the county, not in the hundred, and though the great men might be represented by their bailiffs, it seems impossible to think that a sort of half shire-court of 100 or 200 people travelled round to each hundred court; yet the barons and frenchmen had too much interest in the returns not to attend the inquiry either in person or by their bailiffs.

The 'centuriatus' according to the same document included the priest, reeve and six men from each township, which seems to mean that eight men from each were summoned by the form of the writ directing the inquiry. If they had all come, there would have been 800 of them even in a small county like Surrey with many large manors, making with the 'frenchmen' a shire-moot of 900 to 1000, an unmanageable number. But, except in special cases, probably not more than one or two really attended from each township out of the eight men summoned; at all events nearly as many—six men from each township instead of eight—were formally summoned by the 13th century writ for shire-moots to meet the justices in eyre.² An interesting notice of Domesday by the contemporary bishop of Hereford, discovered by Mr. Stevenson, speaks of '*alii inquisitores post alios*' having been sent into each county, which might suggest a double inquiry, but I cannot help thinking that the bishop's phrase is only an epigrammatic description of the double function of the commissioners and the shire court,³ or it is possible that there may have been a previous return of the hides made by the county officials, taken from the lists used in collecting the geld in previous years.

If inquiries were first held in the hundred courts, the original return must obviously have been arranged by hundreds, but assuming that the whole inquiry was held in the shire-court, we know from the Cambridge Inquisition that a jury was sworn for each separate hundred. We know too that attendance at the shire-court was looked upon as a burden rather than a privilege; both the royal commissioners and those summoned to meet them would be anxious to get the work finished quickly. On the other hand the return for each hundred would require a certain amount of

¹ "Inquisitio terrarum quomodo barones regis inquisierunt per sacramentum vicecomitis scire et omnium baronum et eorum francigenarum et totius centuriatus, presbiteri, prepositi, sex villani uniuscujusque ville."

² Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Eng. Law*. i 321 (345).

³ *English Historical Review* (1907), xxii, 72. '*Alii inquisitores post alios et ignoti ad ignotas*

mittebantur provincias, ut alii aliorum descriptionem reprehenderent et regi eos reos constituerent." Strictly speaking, *mittebantur* ought to apply to '*alios*' as well as to '*alii*,' and to imply the *sending* of two sets of commissioners, but we may allow something for the bishop's obvious desire to twist *alii alios* and *ignoti ignotas* into a stylish and epigrammatic phrase under one verb.

consideration and preparation ; no hundred-jury would be ready to reel off a neat statement all at once at a moment's notice. It is suggested by the above variation in Surrey and is in itself likely, that after the commissioners had opened the proceedings with a general ' charge ' explaining what was to be done and had, perhaps, named for each hundred a jury of eight (at least that was the number in Cambridge and Herts), these juries were separated, that each might prepare by itself the return for its own hundred. Each jury would be joined by the other men present from the same hundred—indeed the jury of eight by whose oath the return was to be vouched, may have been chosen, not by the commissioners, but by the men of the hundred after the return was drawn up—and the sittings would also be attended by the bailiffs of the greater men. All of them together would form a sort of hundred-court, but it will be convenient to include the whole of them with the ' jury.' The preparation of the returns would of necessity have to be done in writing, for which purpose the juries were no doubt provided with clerical help. As the commissioners would probably not have so many as 15 or 20 clerks in their train, it is likely that they would assign to each clerk a batch of two or three juries ; in some counties the hundreds might be divided by locality, but in others promiscuously. The juries in each batch may possibly have sat together, but in any case the returns drawn up by the same clerk would use the same terms. To each jury or clerk was presumably given a memorandum of the questions they were to answer, and it is not impossible that in multiplying these memoranda different treasury clerks might have used different, but almost equivalent terms. If so the returns made would also differ. Some variation of the kind in these memoranda seems to be indicated by the fact that the particulars for Domesday given at the beginning of the *Inquisitio Eliensis* speak, not of *bordarii* at all, but only of *villani* and *cotarii*, or according to another MS. *cothcethle*,¹ though in Wilts ' *coscets* ' are distinguished by Domesday, not only from *bordarii*, but also from ' *cotarii*.' The juries would meet again in the shire-moot to deliver their returns, when the tenants and their holdings would probably be recited and the testimony of the " whole shire " would be taken on any point which was still doubtful or in dispute. Even if the returns were read over at full length in the shire-moot, with all details of men, men's holdings and stock, small differences buried in the mass of detail might easily escape notice ; but as " the shire " generally could know nothing of the detail, it seems likely that only the tenants and their holdings with the hides, team-lands, values and Saxon holders were read over.

We shall find evidence of just the same kind in the bordars and cotters of Berkshire. The surveys of Berkshire and Surrey in Domesday are so like in style that they were probably made by the same commissioners, and as the proportion of cotter hundreds is nearly the same in Berkshire as in Surrey—about a third of the total hidage—it looks as if the variation was due to the cotter hundreds being done by the same clerk in Berkshire as in Surrey. In Cambridgeshire too we find, with rare exceptions,² no mention of cotters in the south-eastern hundreds of Staploe, Cheveley, Staine, Radfield, Flendish, Chilford, Whittlesford and Triplow, which came

¹ N.E. Hamilton, *Inq. Com. Cant.* 97.

² One in Flendish, four in Triplow.

first in the bundle of original returns,¹ while the north-eastern hundreds which followed them have many cotters. It is plain that the mention of these cotters depended on difference of description, not of population, for the north-eastern hundreds adjoin Beds and Hunts where Domesday gives no cotters, while the south-eastern hundreds, which have no cotters, adjoin Herts where there are plenty. The I.C.C.² shows that the difference of description can not have been due to the compilers of Domesday Book; whether it belonged to the original returns of the juries, or to a digest of them made by the commissioners is not clear, but the jury-returns would probably be somewhat ragged in form and the generally uniform style of the I.C.C. suggests that the return sent up was a digest of the jury-returns made by the commissioners' secretary. The phrase in which the Surrey Domesday says on f36 "*we do not know how*" Walter fitz Other "*holds a man of the soc of Kingston*" to whom is committed the charge of the king's mares turned out there, looks like a phrase used by the Kingston jury in their separate return for that hundred, though it might be used by the commissioners. It may be that in the case of Surrey and Berkshire the original separate returns made by the juries were sent up to Winchester, but this does not seem very likely; the phrase "*we do not know*" might easily get copied into such a digest and so into Domesday. Mr. Ragg has also noticed in his study of Bucks, that the separate preparation of the return for each hundred by its own jury is indicated by a little peculiarity in the hundred of Cottesloe, which will be referred to later.

An item in which Surrey differs from some other parts of Domesday is the mode of estimating the woodland. In Surrey and the other south-eastern counties "*silva de n porcis*," means a wood for the pannage in which *n* swine were paid to the lord by the tenants. This is clear from the figures alone; we find many woods of 5, 4, 3, or 2 swine; we have woods of 1 pig, and in Sussex of 1½ pig (17 b 1). At the other end of the scale we have at Farnham in Surrey a wood of 150½ swine and on f39 a 1 at Ringwood in Hants one of 189 swine; not even "*the whole shire*" could draw a line between the amount of feed for 150½ or 189 swine and the quantity required for 150 or 190. The phrase is expanded for us by Domesday itself. In Surrey at Tadeorde there is "*1 porcus de silva*;" at Mickleham "*1 porcus de pasnagio silvae*;" at Mortlake and at Bletchingly there are "*de silva*" 55 and 40 swine. In Kent on ff12 b 2 to 13 b 1 we have at Chenetone "*tantum silvae unde exeunt de pasnagio 40 porci aut 44½d.*," at Levesham '*de silva 50 porci de pasnagio*,' at Estbrige '*silva de 3 porcis de pasnagio*,' at Postinges '*silva 40 porcorum*,' at Orlavestone '*silva 6 porcorum*,' at Hortun '*de silva 6 porci*;' all these phrases clearly meaning the same, i. e. rent swine. In view of Farnham and Ringwood and of the size of the Weald of Kent we need not be frightened at such rents as the '*150 porci de pasnagio*' of Berham (9. b. 2) or even the 300 '*de pasnagio*' at Wye. The Chenetone phrase is repeated on f50 a 2 at Adelingham, and on f56 b 2 at Windsor. On the other side of the Thames in Middlesex and Bucks the very same formula "*silva de n porcis*" has quite another meaning and stands beyond doubt for woodland which

¹ See the I.C.C. and the general order of D.B. (except as to Staploe, which is irregular); Earl Alan's fief begins in the middle.

² Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrig. (N. Hamilton), apparently a copy of the return made by the commissioners.

could in the season feed *n* swine.¹ We may again depend upon the figures. We have there woods of 500 or 1000 or even 2000 swine, very few of less than 30 or 40. Moreover the phrase is expanded for us at Munden (137 a 1) as "a wood in which 200 swine are fed." We should expect each of the formal headings under which the Domesday figures were grouped to be used always and everywhere with one and the same fixed meaning,² but it is certainly not so with the woodland.³

We must not assume too certainly that the rent-swine of the Surrey Domesday always give the real proportion between the woodland of different manors. We do not know if the lord's share of the swine fed was always the same, or what it was on any one manor, or if he always had such rent. We cannot even feel sure that the miscellaneous items are always recorded. There must surely have been woodland at Ashted in Copthorn which still has a large and wooded common, but nothing is said of rent-swine. Walton in Emleybridge is neatly divided into two equal halves, presumably by the inheritance before 1066 of two brothers, yet one entry gives 50 rent-swine and 40 acres of meadow, while the other does not mention either meadow or wood. Another item of the same kind is the pig-rent paid for "herbage," of which there are many entries in Surrey. Here we sometimes have a proportion. At Streatham (34 b) and also (?) at Battersea the lord got for herbage one in every ten swine owned by villeins, but at Malden and (*pro pastura*) at Titsey one in seven. The latter rate is said in a side note on f16 b against the archbishop's manor of Patcham to have been the rule "throughout Sussex," that is, apparently, on all the archbishop's land in Sussex. The same rate is mentioned twice in Bishop Osbern's fief in Sussex and twice in that of the Bishop of Chichester; but the latter got one in six swine at Aldingeborne, and, if the text be right, one in three at Bishopstone. This last seems high, but it was not an unknown rate, for in 1257 the king had one in three swine at Guildford.⁴

The mills in Surrey are some of them very small, or at least of very small annual value. Those of Limsfield, Chivington, Nutfield and Merstham, all on the same brook, a very little one, range between 2s and 2s 8d. It is curious to find mills at Chipstead, Banstead and Woodmansterne, which lie on the top of the Chalk hills far from any running water. As windmills do not appear to have been introduced into England

¹ In spite of the not very uncommon phrase '*silva n porc. et p sol.*' Double-faced grammar is not unknown in Domesday; at Stepney and Tring (127 a 2, 137 a 2) we have '*pastura pecunie et 3 s.*' while '*T.R.E. se. defend. et modo*' and '*tunc et modo val.*' are common.

² The attitude of the Domesday compilers to formula is illustrated in a small way by their grammar. They do not seem to have known themselves whether in such common forms as '*terra n car.*' and '*pratun n car.*' the '*car.*' stood for '*carnis*' or '*carucarum.*' They are convicted by the fractions expressed in oxen. In Middlesex, Herts and Bucks we have generally '*terra* (or '*pratun*) *n bobus*,' but on f129 a 1 "*pratun 4 bobus*" at Hillingdon is immediately followed by "*pratun 6 boum*" at Dawley. All entries for the same village must have been taken from the same paragraph of the original return, but of two entries for Greenford and two

for Hardmead (129 b 1, 130 b 2 end, 149 a 1, 151 a 1 end) one in each village has '*terra boum*,' the other '*bobus*,' and the last has in the same entry "*terra 2 boum, pratun 2 bobus*."

³ Perhaps too much has been said of the swine, but they have sometimes been misunderstood; e.g. even by Dr. Cox in V.H. Kent, i. 472. The Sussex Archaeological Society translates boldly "herbage for one of seven hogs" (*herbag. de 7 porc. unum*, 17 a 1, Westringes) and (17 b 1 end) "pannage for 1 hog and a half!" It is true that feed for half a cow is known to the law as feed for a cow for half the year (Ellard v. Hill, Williams, Rights of Common p. 49), but in Domesday at Datchworth (133 a 2), I suspect that '*pratun dim. bovi*' is a confusion in trying to turn '*iv bob*' into '*dim. car.*'

⁴ See the Rev. J. C. Cox's Royal Forests p. 42. It is possible, however, that both vi and iii may be mistakes for vii.

till after 1086, these mills must have been at some distance from their villages. In later times a mill on the Wandle seems to have been attached to Woodmansterne (V. H.). In 1325 the manor of Banstead included a good deal of land on the Mole near Leigh three miles south of Reigate,¹ though that is eight miles from Banstead and Reigate Hill lies between. Probably the Chipstead mill was also in the Weald. Other Surrey manors are found later to have considerable pieces of the Weald attached to them, and the "dene of wood" which belonged to Ewell may not improbably have been there, though a good deal of woodland lay to the west of Ewell. Ockley is 6 miles south of Dorking, but land there belonged even in Saxon days to Ockham 9 miles away near Ripley and in the hundred of Woking. There is still west of Leith Hill an Ockham farm, pointed out to me by Mr. Malden, which 20 years ago was in the parish of Ockham, Leithhill on the east and Joldwyns on the west of it being then in the parish of Ockley, though both Ockham farm and Leithhill have since been transferred into the parish of Wotton. It is clear therefore that this Ockham farm in Ockley is the 'Hoclei' held like Ockham, which it follows on f35 b 2, by Richard fitz Gilbert and T.R.E. by Almar.

The testimony of the "hundred" is often cited in Surrey, and that of the "shire" at Guildford and (Carsh)alton. Geoffrey de Mandeville's title to all his land is said to be doubtful. Two of the manors "had not been part of the land of Asgar," who is his "antecessor" in Middlesex.² But Geoffrey had not hesitated to roll into one five Saxon manors at Carshalton. There are other good instances of manor-making. Several Saxon holdings had been rolled together at Berge and Bletchingley, and the small freemen had been absorbed at Cuddington and Bramley. A freeman had submitted himself "for protection" to Walter de Douai (36 a 1); there are two similar cases at Esher (Aissela 32 b) and another on f36 b 1 at Combe.

A few other quotations may be made. Tooting (32 a 2) gives us the transfer of a mortgage. Earl Waltheof pledged it after the conquest for 2 marks of gold to Alnod of London, who granted it for his soul's good to St. Peter's Westminster — "*scilicet quod ibi habebat.*" The abbey got in the first instance only the mortgage. We have another instance at Mickelham (31 b 1) where "Othebert holds 1 hide which his predecessor held in pledge."

Scaldeforde (35 b 1) was held T.R.E. by two brothers; "*unusquisque habuit domum suam, et tamen manserunt in una curia.*" Padendene (f36 a 1) is held by William fitz Ansculf and "of that manor" his man Hugo held 3 hides "*cum halla.*" At Wandsworth (f35-6) six socmen held T.R.E. 12 hides. "*ibi erant duæ hallæ.*" See also Borham 34 b 1.

Nutfield (34 a 2) "is worth now £ 15 of 20[d] in the ore."

Ditton (32 a 1) is held by Odo, and of him by Wadard, and of Wadard by a subtenant, "*qui reddit ei 50s et servitium unius militis.*"

The entry as to Sutton (32 a 1) referred to on the next page is interesting in connection with the use of the term 'manor.'

¹ Survey of Banstead, B.M. Add. MS. 16532. The survey mentions Stumbethole, now Stumblehole, and the mill may probably have been

on the Mole at or below Sidlow Bridge.

² Cf. D.B. ii. 411, "*non pertinuit ad feudam Ansgari antecessoris Gosfridi.*"

On some duplications

In Surrey Domesday has no actual entry in duplicate, but in several cases it is clear, in several others most probable, and in yet others quite possible, that certain hides of 1065 get mentioned twice over. The hide 'of the King's land in Bermondsey' entered on f34 a 2 as held by the Count of Mortain with his house, is also mentioned under Bermondsey on f30 a 2 and appears to be there included in the T.R.E., but not in the T.R.W., hidage of that manor. The 2 hides of an entry interpolated on f35 b 1 line 51 which were 'held by William fitz Ansculf in the hundred of Copthorne, but valued (*appreciatae*) in another hundred,' are clearly the 2 hides assigned to him on f36 a 1 as 'in Copthorne hundred (but) belonging to his manor of Milton in Wotton.' The 2 hides surveyed on f31 a 2 under Odo's great manor of Bramley are identified by the name of the Saxon holder Anschil with the 2 hides at Clandon mentioned on f34 a 1 as having been seized by Odo. Other $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides on f31 a 2 'in Bramley,' but 'in the hundred of Wotton,' seem to be the same as Odo's $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides at the bottom of f32 a 1 'in Wotton hundred in the manor of Sutton, which are valued and counted (*appreciate et annumerate*) in the Bishop's manor of Bramley,' though one entry gives Alvrice as the Saxon holder and the other Herulf; perhaps the later entry is a correction. The hide at Malden mentioned on f35 a 2 as 'in dispute' has been taken as included amongst the 8 hides assigned to Malden in the previous column. The 6 hides of Betchworth surveyed on f35 b 2 under the rubric of Wotton hundred are no doubt the same as the 6 hides of Betchworth mentioned in the previous column as having been 'delivered to Richard fitz Gilbert together with Torncrosta' (Leatherhead), which is in the hundred of Copthorne; and these 6 hides may very likely be included with other $3\frac{1}{4}$ hides in the $25\frac{1}{4}$ hides of the Torncrosta entry,¹ which would make Cola's estate in Torncrosta only 16 hides.

Probably some duplication of T.R.E. hidage has also arisen from disputed titles and the separation from large estates of small fragments after the conquest. The 2 hides held by Walter fitz Other's man without good title are probably included in the T.R.E. hidage of Kingston; and very possibly the 2 hides claimed by Walter de Douai are included in the 11 hides of Wallington. Of the $15\frac{3}{4}$ hides T.R.E. at Ewell in Copthorne 'the bailiffs had taken out of the King's manor and made over to their friends $2\frac{1}{4}$ hides,' leaving it only $13\frac{1}{2}$ hides in 1086, and these $2\frac{1}{4}$ hides are presumably duplicated in other entries; probably by the $1\frac{1}{4}$ and 1 hides held of the Bishop of Bayeux by Ranulf and Baignard. In the same way, seeing that no other royal manor gets any reduction unless freed entirely, it looks as if the $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides dropped by Reigate (Cherchefelle), which had $37\frac{1}{2}$ hides T.R.E. and only 34 hides T.R.W., were not a remission, but had been transferred elsewhere. They may be duplicated (T.R.E.) at the adjoining Nutfield, to which Domesday gives $13\frac{1}{2}$ hides.

The Westminster manor of Battersea, previously held by Harold, is a little puzzling. It is given 72 hides T.R.E. and 18 hides T.R.W., but 'of the land of this manor the Count of Mortain holds (in 1086) $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides,'

¹ Mr. Corbett thinks they are, but to be on the safe side 22 hides are given to Cola in the table. The question turns on the meaning of

'*istae terræ*;' the '*isti homines*' seem to mean the holders of the $3\frac{1}{4}$ hides.

Gilbert a priest 3 hides, Chertsey 1 hide, and Odo 2 hides, held of him by the Bishop of Lisieux. All these lands we are told, were 'in Battersea,' i.e. attached to that great manor, till after the conquest, but apparently not in 1086, and they seem on the analogy of Bermondsey and Ewell to be counted in the 72 hides of Battersea T.R.E., but not in the 18 hides T.R.W. Of these holdings the last seems to be the 2 hides at Peckham on f31 b 2 held of Odo by the Bishop of Lisieux, which are expressly said to have 'lain in Battersea T.R.E.' Presumably the others are also accounted for elsewhere, and the Battersea held by Westminster has therefore been tabulated as only $64\frac{1}{2}$ hides T.R.E., not 72. The Count of Mortain's $1\frac{1}{2}$ hide seems probably part of his 5 hides at Streatham, of which $1\frac{1}{2}$ had been held by Harold. The Chertsey hide may be the last Tooting on f33, or the 'Estreham' f32 b 2, which was probably, as has been said, at Streatham; in either case the T.R.E. occupier's name has been given instead of Harold's. Gilbert's 3 hides are perhaps among the $6\frac{1}{2}$ hides at Lambeth on f34 a 2 line 30, which had been held of Harold by the canons of Waltham. Apparently Battersea had also annexed before 1066, and still retained in 1086, other lands at Tooting, Streatham, Wandsworth and Lambeth, for the hides of these villages as given in Domesday do not conform to the five-hide unit.

In Emleybridge hundred it is not unlikely that a hide is duplicated at Esher and two half-hides at Apps. The 2 hides given on f35 b 1 line 45 to the Abbot of Westminster 'in Copthorne hundred, but valued in another hundred,' may be 2 of the 12 hides assigned T.R.E. to the manor of Morden in Brixton. There are other cases also where duplication is possible, though not very probable. It is possible for instance, that the 5 hides given on f31 b 1 to Berge in the hundred of Copthorne, but said to be 'valued in Wallington hundred,' may be duplicated in the 29 hides T.R.E. of Banstead. This was no doubt the manor in which Berge was 'valued;' Banstead is now reckoned as being in Copthorne hundred, but Domesday puts it in the hundred of Wallington and Borough was a member of Banstead in later days.

A word must also be said of the rather confused entry on f31 b 2 for Cuddington. In 1065 there were 30 hides. Of these thirty hides 26 were held in 1086 by the Bishop of Bayeux and of him by Ilbert; of which 26 hides Ilbert had 22 in demesne and his 'man' 4; in demesne was 1 team etc.; "of these hides Ralf holds 4 hides; Ulwin holds $1\frac{3}{4}$ hide of the king; in demesne is 1 team etc.; value of the whole manor T.R.E. £11; afterwards £5; now £9.12. Of the land of this manor Restald holds 2 hides *sed in Waleton hund. reddit rationem.*" To make room for Ulwin's $1\frac{3}{4}$ in the 30 hides Ralf must be Ilbert's 'man' previously mentioned, and his 4 hides must be the difference between Ilbert's 26 and the 22 in his demesne, not between the old 30 and the 26 held of Odo by Ilbert. The 4 hides not obtained by the Bishop seem to be represented by Ulwin's $1\frac{3}{4}$ and by the 2 hides held by Restald. It looks as if the latter were among the 7 hides held by Restald of the Archbishop at Croydon in Wallington hundred, and were included in the T.R.W., but not in the T.R.E. hidage of that manor.¹

¹ Mr. Corbett however does not agree with me as to Cuddington or Battersea, or as to the

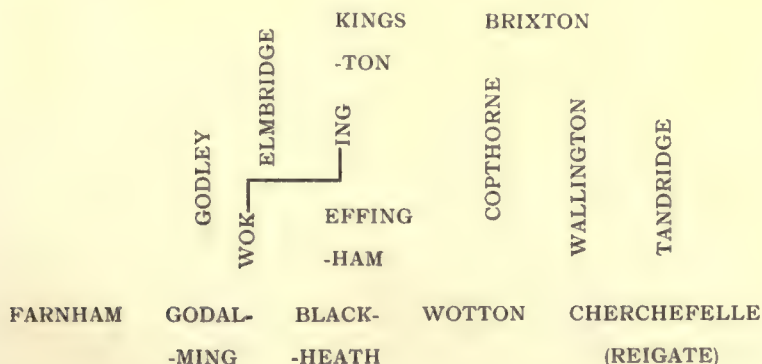
$2\frac{1}{2}$ hides which are 'in Bramley' but 'in the hundred of Wotton.'

HUNDRED	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE		TEAMS		MEN		
	1065	1086		1065	1086	dem	men	vill	bord	serv
A Emleybridge	122 $\frac{1}{4}$	45 $\frac{1}{4}$	[60]	73	73	12	45	131	56*	25 A
B Blackheath	85	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	87	106	134	15	82	185	85*	51 B
C Brixton	282 $\frac{3}{4}$	114 $\frac{1}{4}$	150	231	247	30	106	320	184	30 C
D Reigate	106 $\frac{1}{2}$	50	[80]	[80]	90	14	64	147	42	33 D
E Kingston	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{3}{4}$	70	74	76	16	47	155	51	22 E
F Copthorne	197	68 $\frac{5}{8}$	[110]	112	105	26	79	203	94	54 F
G Farnham	60	40	[50]	55	47	8	35	58	20	11 G
H Effingham	48 $\frac{1}{4}$	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	34	31	31	6	24	47	28	13 H
I Godalming	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 $\frac{1}{4}$	76	70	83	18	54	148	73*	25 I
K Godley	100	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	[100]	103	104	10	58	169	94	9 K
L Tandridge	210 $\frac{1}{4}$	34 $\frac{3}{4}$	138	137	147	36	108	231	111	83 L
M Wallington	378	116 $\frac{3}{4}$	163	165	201	34	145	265	175*	61 M
N Woking	149 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{7}{8}$	102	134	124	26	112	208	138	63 N
O Wotton	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	70	72	65	11	52	120	58	23 O
Totals	1997 $\frac{3}{4}$	698	1300	1443	1527	262	1011	2387	1209	503
Others ¹	1830	706	1172	1417	1524	1142		2363	1208	478
Mr. Malden ¹	2000 $\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	...	...	...	...	2382	1198	503

* These are cotters.

¹ Mr. Malden kindly tells me that he counts the original hides as 2000 $\frac{1}{4}$, the 'men' are given in his paper in *Domesday Studies* ii. 469. The other counts are from Maitland, *D.B. and B.* pp. 400, 464 (the values being from Pearson) and Ellis, *General Introduction* vol. ii. Professor Maitland did not of course attempt to exclude duplications, and Pearson's value in 1086 includes a premium on money burnt or weighed; perhaps too he has taken the 'reddit', where it occurs, instead of the 'valet', which would make a difference of over £20.

Diagram showing the relative position of the Hundreds.



NOTE ON SURREY.

THE CHIEF MANORS HELD BY THE CHURCH T.R.E.

II Abp of Canterbury. III Bp of Winchester. IV Bp Osbern.
 VI Ab. of Westminster. VII Ab. of Winchester. VIII Ab. of Chertsey.
 XII Ab. of Barking.

MANOR	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE		TEAMS		MEN		
	1065	1086		1065	1086	dem	men	vill	bord	serv
II A Croydon	80	16 $\frac{1}{4}$	? 20	? 12	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	34	48	25	... A
B Cheam	20	4	14	8	14	2	15	25	12	5 B
C Mortlake	72	25	{ 35	32	38	5	28	80	14	16 C
D Barnes (xiii)	8									
E Walworth	5	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1	3	14	5	... E
F Merstham	20	5	8	8	12	2	8	21	4	8 F
G E. Horsley	14	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	5	4	4	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	6	3 G
IV H E. Horsley	8	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	6	3 H
III I Farnham	60	40	[43]	55	46	8	35	58	20	11 I
VI K Morden	12	3	[7]	6	10	3	4	8	5	1 K
VII L Sanderstead	18	5	10	5	12	1	8	21	1	4 L
XII M Weston	7	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	2	2	...	3	9	...	... M
Without Croydon	244	96	143	137	157	27	123	279	77	51
VIII N Petersham	10	4	5	5	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	4	15	2	... N
O Epsom	34	11	17	20	17	1	17	34	4	6 O
P Bookham	26	13	19	16	15	1	19	32	4	3 P
Q Clandon	10	4	5	6	4	...	7	6	12	... Q
R Waddington	20	5	8	6	7	1	5	17	2	... R
S Coulsdon	20	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	6	7	1	6	10	4	... S
T Sutton	30	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	20	15	2	13	21	4	... T
V Chobham	10	10	12	16	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	14	36	10	3 V
W Thorpe	10	7	[9]	12	12	1	8	24	12	... W
	170	66	100	107	99	10	93	195	54	12
X Chertsey	5	5	[20]	18	24	3	18	40	24	... X
Y Egham	40	15	? 40	40	30 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	? 10	25	32	... Y
Total	540	198	323	314	348	46	278	587	212	63

SUMMARY OF LARGE MANORS HELD BY RICHARD FITZ GILBERT.

HUNDREDS <i>In Demesne</i>	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	VALUE		TEAMS		MEN		
	1065	1086		1065	1086	dem	men	vill	bord	serv
A Emleybridge (4)	32	11½	22	17	23	4	10	30	18	9 A
B Copthorn L.	22	4	5	5	5	2	2	5	4	9 B
C Woking K, L.	10	2½	8	8	8	2	6	15	5	5 C
D Wotton C.	6	2	7	9	8	1	3	6	10	6 D
	70	20	42	39	44	9	21	66	37	29
<i>Under-Tenants.</i>										
E EmleybridgeG.	10	3¾	6	6	6½	2	5	11	12	6 E
F Brixton Kb, L.	16	2¼	7	7	8	3	5	9	9	... F
G Reigate Eb, F.	20	4	20	12	14	3½	15	25	13	15 G
H Kingston (4)	28	8½	16	19	18	5	12	32	21	11 H
I Copthorne Ib, K.	20	4⅛	10	11	12	3½	7	18	7	9 I
K Effingham (4)	10	4	7	9	9½	3	2	7	9	8 K
L WallingtonSb,T	40	73	9	20	18	3	8	15	5	5 L
	144	291½	75	84	86	23	54	117	76	54
Tandridge Hund.	.									
M <i>In Demesne</i>	30	9	28	24	26	6	20	46	12	16 M
N <i>Under-Tenants</i>	68	11	32	41	47	13	27	63	45	19 N
Total	312	691½	177	188	203	51	122	292	170	118

SUMMARY OF LARGER ESTATES.

O 1. King	237	94	200	237	252	23	194	465	180	25 O
P 2. Church	540	198	323	314	348	46	278	587	212	63 P
Q 3. Odo	122	38	90	81	108	17	71	183	90	40 Q
R 4. Rich. f. G.	312	70	177	188	203	51	122	292	170	118 R
S 5. The Rest.	789	298	510	623	616	125	346	860	557	257 S
	2000	698	1300	1443	1527	262	1011	2387	1209	503

The figures in line 5 are mere balances, to make up the county totals, and the whole table is only a rough summary to test the difference, if any, between different kinds of ownership. It shows little difference, except that the king is less heavily assessed than the others, that the king and the church have a smaller proportion of *servi*, and that 'the rest,' which include small estates, have a rather larger proportion of bordars.

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086			UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065		
x	The King		Aldi, a woman	x	not given	x
A	Ab. of St. Leutred ...		Demesne	A	Tovi	A
b	Bp of Bayeux (no writ)		Hugh d. Port	b	not given	b
c	Odard		Demesne	c	Tovi	c
d	Ab. of Chertsey ...		Will. d. Wateville ...	d	an Englishman ...	d
e	do.		do.	e	1 man, 2 women G ...	e
f	do.		Rainald	f	a woman G	f
B	do.		Demesne	B	[Chertsey]	B
C	Bp of Bayeux (no writ)		Herfrey	C	two sisters G	C
b	Ab. of Chertsey ...		Demesne	b	Alvred G	b
c	do.		an Englishman ...	c	the Englishman G ...	c
D	Ed. d. Salisbury ...		Demesne	D	Azor	D
b	Rich. f. Gilbert ...		Demesne	b	Erding	b
E	do.		do.	E	Bricsi cild	E
b	do.		do.	b	Otho	b
F	Ab. of Barking ...		Demesne	F	[? Ab. of Barking] ...	F
G	Odard		Demesne	G	Tovi	G
b	Rich. f. Gilbert ...		John	b	Alvric	b
c	do.		Roger d'Abernon ...	c	Toco	c
d	do.		John	d	Ulward	d
H	do. (no writ ⁿ) ...		Demesne	H	9 thegns G	H
b	do.		a villein (now in the		kings hand)	b
c	do.		Picot	c	Aelmer (? wrongly) ...	c
d	do.		Picot	d	Aelmer G	d
e	do.		Demesne	e	Almaer	e

BLACHEATFELD (BLACKHEATH)

A	The King	Demesne	A	Earl Harold	A
B	do.	do.	B	Queen Edith	B
C	Rich. f. Gilbert ...	Roger d'Abernon <i>a knight 1 hid.</i>	C	Azor	C
D	Bp of Bayeux ...	Dem. terra 2 car ⁿ	D	Alnod; ⁿ <i>freemen 4 hid.</i>	D
b	do.	a widow	b	the widow G	b
E	do.	with Bramley	E	Alwin Boi G	E
F	do.	Demesne	F	Alward G	F
G	Rich. f. Gilbert ...	Rob. d. Wateville <i>a knight ½ hid.</i>	G	two brothers	G
H	Bp of Bayeux ...	Demesne	H	Alwin	H

Emleybridge—* **C, Gb** bordars *v.p.o.***D.** 'Terra 2 car. quæ nunquam geldaverunt.' Alnod cild. 'Is worth now 12 l. but renders 14 l'. A forester of 10 s.**H.** 'Delivered to Richard by Ab. Wlwoold in augmentation of Walton, as Richard's men say'.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	cott	serv
...	...	...	x in this hundred ...	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	...	$\frac{9}{20}$	...	...	...	...	x
...	...	...	A in Esher ...	$7\frac{3}{4}$	nq.	2	[3]	...	3	1	2	4	11	A
...	...	...	b in Aissela ...	?	1	0	...	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	1	...	b
...	...	2	c in do. ...	4	1	...	[2]	...	2	...	2	10	...	c
...	...	...	d in manor Aissela ...	2	$1\frac{1}{4}$	...	$2\frac{9}{40}$	...	$2\frac{9}{40}$	...	2	6	...	d
...	...	...	e in villa Aissela ...	$3\frac{1}{2}$			$\frac{4}{5}$	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	1	2	...	e
...	...	...	f in do. ...	$19\frac{1}{4}$	1	$0\frac{1}{5}$	[$\frac{1}{3}$]	...	$\frac{7}{20}$	...	...	3	...	f
³ 13 $\frac{1}{8}$	40	1	B Cobham... Covenham	30	30	$12\frac{1}{2}$	10	20	14	1	9	29	6	B
...	5	16	C Weybridge ⁿ ...	4	2	...	2	2	2	...	...	1	1*	C
...	2	8	b in Webri(u)ge ...	2	2	...	1	1	1	...	...	3	...	b
...	2	8	c in do. ...	2	2	...	1	...	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	...	c
12 $\frac{1}{2}$	50	40	D Walton ...	6	3	8	8	5	12 ⁿ	2	7	8 ⁿ	3	D
12 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	b Waletone † fish 5 s	20	6	3	8	8	5	14	2	3	8	b
7	40	4	E Stoke d'Abernon †	15	2 ^b	6	4	3	4	2	2	10	9	E
6	...	...	b in Stocche ...	20	5	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	1	1	...	$\frac{3}{4}$	2	b
...	...	...	F Weston ... at Westone	7	$3\frac{1}{4}$	3	2	2	2	...	3	9	...	F
...	...	...	G Molesey † ...	$6\frac{1}{4}$	1	3	5	$2\frac{1}{2}$	4	1	4	10	5	G
...	4	16	b Molesham ...	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$	3	3	2	3	1	$2\frac{1}{2}$	7	8*	b
...	6	16	c do. ...	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	3	3	2	$3\frac{1}{2}$	1	$2\frac{1}{2}$	4	4	c
...	...	...	d in do. ...	$24\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	2	d
...	6	46	H in Apps (Court) }	6	6	...	3	2	4	...	4	10	6	H
...	...	...	b near Walton }	?	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	b
...	...	...	c in Epsa ...	?	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	...	...	c
...	...	...	d in do. ...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	[$\frac{1}{2}$]	$\frac{1}{20}$	...	...	...	...	d
...	...	...	e in this hundred	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	...	[$\frac{1}{3}$]	$\frac{2}{3}$	...	...	...	...	e
				122 $\frac{1}{4}$	45 $\frac{1}{4}$	[60]	73	...	73	12	45	131	56	25

BLACHEATFELD (BLACKHEATH)

3 $\frac{1}{4}$	30	3	A Gomshall ...	20	20	0	20	15	10	20 ⁿ	2	18	30	8*	6	A
			<i>Gomeselle</i>													
² 10	50	3	B Shere † ...	...	16 ⁿ	non	14	15	15	15	2	12	19	6*	6	B
			<i>Essira</i>													
5	30	...	C Albury † ...	20	4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	10	5	9	1	6	11	5*	4	C
			<i>Eldeberie</i>													
⁵ 26	100	20	D Bramley †† ...	...	34	0	35	40	30	60 ⁿ	6	32	84	40	18	D
...	...	...	b in Brunlege ...	35	1	0	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	...	b
7	...	...	E Chilworth ..	...	3	0	[3]	[3 $\frac{1}{2}$]	...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	6	2	...	E
			<i>Celeorde</i>													
1 $\frac{3}{8}$	...	...	F in this hund. ...	...	3	0	[2]	[5]	...	5	...	2	5	8	5	F
³ 16	20	4	G Shallford ⁿ † ...	10	4	4	6	16	9	20	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	29	16*	11	G
			<i>Scaldefor</i>													
...	...	...	H Terra ad 1 car. ...	...	...	...	1	[1 $\frac{1}{2}$]	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	...	H
				85	6 $\frac{1}{8}$	87	106	...	134	15	82	185	85	51		

Blackheath—***A B C G** bordars, **D E F** cotters *v.p.g.*

A. Reddit £30. The villeins are quit of Sheriff.

B. Rated 1065 as 9 hides.

D. Reddit £80.

G. 'Haga' in Guildf. 3s

Diagram

G E C B A

D

Emleybridge

Diagram

C D H G

A F

B E

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Demesne	A Earl Harold A
B do.	do.	B do. B
b C. of Mortain	with his house	b ? b
C Haimo sheriff	Demesne	C Norman C
D Abp of Canterbury ...	Bainiard	D de vestu monachorum D
E do.	Demesne	E [The Archbishop] ... E
F Canons of St. Paul's ...	Demesne	F [The Canons] F
G Bp of Bayeux	Bp of Lisieux	G Brixi G
H do.	do.	H Alfed of Harold ... H
I Ab. of Westminster ...	Dem. knight 4 hid. <i>in exchange for Windsor</i>	I Earl Harold I
K do.	? Odbert	K Suain K
b Rich. f. Gilbert	St. Mary's Bech ...	b Estarcher b
c Ab. of Chertsey	Haimo sheriff	c ? c
d do.	„	d Oswald G d
L Rich. f. Gilbert	St. Mary's Bech ...	L Erding... .. L
b C. of Mortain	Demesne	b Har. 1½ h; Waltham 1½; 3 socmen 2 hid. G. b
c Bp of Bayeux	Ansgot	c Edwin G. c
d Ab. of Chertsey	Haimo sheriff	d Uward G. d
M Will. f. Ansculf <i>after he was sheriff; no writ</i>		M 6 socmen, ibi duæ hallæ M
b Ab. of St. Wendrille ...	Ingulf	b Suein G. b
N Ch. of Lambeth... ..	Demesne	N Css Goda sister of K. Ed. N
b C. of Mortain	Demesne	b Waltham of Harold ... b
O Geof. d. Mandeville ...	Demesne	O Turbern O
<i>wrongly; it was not Asgar's</i>		
P Geof. Orlatele	Demesne	P Anschil of Harold ... P
Q Teodric the goldsmith ...		Q the same Teodric ... Q

A. 'Qui tenent reddunt 43l;' in Southwark 16 houses of 18s 2d.
B. In London 13 burgesses of 44d.

E. In London 17 houses, Southwark 4.
 De villa Putelei 20s de theloneo, et piscaria sine censu.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES		HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN				
			DOMESDAY NAMES		1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv		
260	80	10	A	Merton ⁿ † ... <i>Merelone</i>	20	20	20	21	25	16	35 ⁿ	2	18	56	13	... A	
...	5	20	B	Bermondsey ⁿ † ... <i>in Bermundesye</i>	...	13	12	8	15	..	15	1	4	25	33	... B	
...	...	...	b	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	$\frac{8}{20}$	...	...	...	1	... b
...	60	63	C	Camberwell † ... <i>Cambrewelle</i>	25	12	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	5	12	6	14	2	6	22	7	... C	
...	...	8	D	Walworth † ... <i>Waleorde</i>	5	5	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	1	3	14	5	... D	
2100	55	20	E	Mortlake ⁿ † ... <i>Mortelage</i>	...	72	25	35	32	10	38	5	28	80	14	16 E	
...	...	20	F	Barnes ... <i>Berne</i>	80	8		6	6	...	7	2	3	10	4	... F	
...	3	6	G	Hatcham ... <i>Hacheham</i>	...	3	3	3	2	2	2	...	3	9	2	... G	
...	...	2	H	Peckham ... <i>Pecheham</i>	5	2	2	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1	3	... H
7850	50 ?h	82	I	Battersea ⁿ (? 72 h.) <i>Patricesey v.p.16</i>	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	18	[18]	80	30	75 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	14	45	16	8	I	
...	...	3	K	Tooting... <i>Totinges...</i>	...	4	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	2	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	...	...K
...	...	10	b	...	...	11	1	4	5	1	5	2	3	5	4	... b
...	...	4	c	do. ...	...	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	3	2	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	3	2	... c
...	...	1	d	in do. ...	...	1	1	...	$\frac{3}{4}$	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...d
h	10	4	L	Streatham ⁿ † ... <i>Estrcham v.p.2</i>	...	5	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	3	1	2	4	5	... L	
...	...	...	b	...	...	5	0	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{3}{20}$	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	3	... b
...	...	...	c	do. ...	...	1	1	[1]	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	...	2	...	...c
...	...	...	d	do. v.p.2	...	1	?	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	2	... d
...	...	22	M	Wandsworth ... <i>Wande(le)sorde</i>	...	12	?12	4	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	5	22	... M	
...	...	...	b	...	...	1	0	[1]	1	1	1	...	1	3	2	... b
...	3	16	N	Lambeth ⁿ † ... <i>Lanchei</i>	...	10	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	10	10	11	2	4	12	27	3 N	
...	...	6	b	...	...	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	6	5	4	4	1	3	5	12	1 b
...	...	5	O	Clapham ... <i>Clopeham</i>	...	10	3	7	10	10	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5	8	3	... O	
...	...	8	P	Balham... <i>Belgeham</i>	...	5	0	2	6	1	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1 P	
...	...	4	Q	Kennington ... <i>Chenintune</i>	...	5	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	3	3	1	2	4	3	1 Q	
					282 $\frac{3}{4}$	114 $\frac{1}{4}$	150	231				247	30	106	320	184	30

I. Has annexed parts of K L M N. De villano habente x porcos i porcus.

L. 'Capella reddens 8s. Pro herbagio
i porcus de x porcis.'

N. In London 19 burgesses paying 36s.

Diagram

m N D B
J Q C G H
E F M O P
A K L

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King... ..	Demesne	A King Edward A
B Ansgot the interpre-	ter	B Cola B
b Humphrey the cham-	berlain ' <i>de feuo</i>	b Alvred G b
	<i>reginae.</i> '	
C Ab. of Westminster ...	Demesne	C [Westminster] C
D Walt. f. Other's man,	wrongly	D ? <i>duplicates A.</i> " D
E Ab. of Chertsey ...	Edric	E 3 ' <i>bedelli</i> ' in E
(from 1064)	? <i>duplicates A.</i>	Kingston <i>L.</i>
F do.	Demesne	F Ab. of Chertsey... .. F
G Bp of Bayeux	Wadard ; <i>of him</i>	G Luegar of Harold G
	<i>by knight's service</i> "	
b Rich. f. Gilbert... ..	Picot	b Almar b
H do.	Picot	H Alwin G H
b do.	Ralf	b Edmer G b
I Miles Crispin	' <i>this lay in Bed-</i>	I Magno Suert, ' not I
	<i>ington T.R.E.</i> '	Wigot. ' <i>The villeins</i>
b Rich. f. Gilbert... ..	Rob. d. Wateville ...	b Erding b
K do.	Picot	K Edwin and another G K
L do.	Rob. d. Wateville ...	L Erding L
b Ab. of Chertsey ...	Will. d. Wateville ...	b Ab. of Chertsey... .. b

CHERCHEFELLE (REIGATE)

M The King... ..	Demesne	M Queen Edith M
N Css. Boulogne... ..	Demesne	N Ulwi N
O Abp of Canterbury... ..	de vestu monach. ...	O [Canterbury] O
P Bp of Bayeux... ..	Herfrey	P Earl Lewin... .. P
Q Ab. of Chertsey ...	Will. d. Wateville ...	Q Ulf G ; Turgis <i>L</i> Q
b Rich. f. Gilbert... ..	a nephew of Bp ...	b Ulnod b
	Walchelin, <i>but Richard</i>	<i>kept one wood.</i>
R do.	Siward	R Oswol R
S do.	John	S Alnod S

A. Two fisheries of 10s ; a third very good, but ' *sine censu.* ' ' Humphrey chamberlain had and has in his charge a villein to collect the queen's wool. He had from him 20s as relief. '

D. ' Walter holds one man of the soc of Kingston, who has in charge the king's *equas silvaticas.* ' ? included in **A.**

F. 1000 eels and 1000 lampreys.

G. Wadard got from his undertenant the service of 1 knight and 50s.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	demmen		vill	bor	serv
20	6	40	A Kingston ⁿ † fish ⁿ ... <i>Chingestune</i>	39	0	32	30	30	30	2	25	86	14	2 A
...	4	4	B Combe	3	1½	3	[3]	...	3	1	1	6	1	... B
...	...	8	b Cumbe	3	0	2	4	1	5	1	1	3	4	... b
...	1	5	C Claygate ... 47½ <i>Claigate</i>	2½	½	2	2	...	2½	1	1	3	2	... C
...	...	1	D in hund. 125 eels ...	2 ⁿ	0	[1]	1½	1½	1½	1	...	...	...	3 D
...	...	2	E in this hund. ...	2½	½	3	7	...	8	7	...	...	1	... E
...	...	3	F Petersham † fish ⁿ <i>Patricesham</i>	10	4	5	5	...	6½	1	4	15	2	... F
½ 1¼	20	4	G Ditton ⁿ <i>Ditone</i>	6	2½	2	4	2	4 ⁿ	1½	...	...	4	4 G
9	15	...	b Ditune ⁿ †	5	4	4	3	1½	2½ ⁿ	1	2½	2	9	1 b
... ⁿ	5½ ⁿ	...	H Talworth	5		3	3	1	3	2	3	7	8	7 H
...	...	5	b Taleorde (35 b 1) ...	5	2½	4	2	2	3	1	2	6	1	2 b
...	...	...	I Chessington <i>Ciscdune</i>	5	1	3	4	2	3½	1	2	6	...	... I
½ 2	...	...	b Cisendone	5	½	2	4	2	3½	...	1	3	1	... b
...	...	...	K Limeurde	½	0	[3]	¼	¼	¼	¾	...	...	2	... K
12	h ⁿ	4	L Malden ⁿ †	8	4	5	7	5	6½	1	4	14	2	3 L
...	...	...	b Meldone	10	2	1	1	1	1	...	½	4	...	... b
				101½	21¾	70	74		76	16	47	155	51	22

CHERCHEFELLE (REIGATE)

211½	140	12	M Reigate v.p. 15 ... <i>Chercheffelle</i>	37½	34	...	...	...	40	3	26	67	11	... M
2	h ¹²	10	N Nutfield † <i>Notfelle</i>	13½	3	12	13	10	15 ⁿ	3	13	25	10	10 N
2½	25	8	O Merstham † <i>Merstan</i>	20	5	8	8	4	12	2	8	21	4	8 O
...	7 ⁿ	6	P Gatton † <i>Gatone</i>	10	2½	5	6	3	6	2	2	6	3	... P
...	...	...	Q Chipstead	5	1	...	[2]	...	2	...	...	2	1	... Q
20	5	...	b Tepestede	15	2	7	7	5	6	2	5	8	5	5 b
...	...	...	R Worth ? Orde (Sx) ...	½	½	...	1½	1	1	...	½	1	...	... R
6	...	...	S Buckland † <i>Bochelant</i>	5	2	...	5	5	8	1½	10	17	8	10 S
				106½	50		42		50	14	64	147	42	33

without M.

Gb. A house in Southwark which renders 50 herrings.**H.** A mill *sine censu* and 5½ acres of meadow and ½ virg.**L.** 'De herbagio 1 porcus de 7 porcis'**P.** 'Silva et herbagium 7 porcorum.'KINGSTON
DiagramF
A B
GHL
CIREIGATE
DiagramQ
P O
S M N

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086			UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065		
A	Ab. of Chertsey	...	Demesne	...	A	[? Chertsey] ... A
B	The King	...	Demesne	...	B	not given ... B
b	Bp of Bayeux	...	Ranulf	...	b	Levric of Harold G ... b
c	"	...	Baignard	...	c	Elmer of Harold G ... c
C	The King	...	Demesne	...	C	Queen Edith ... C
b	Oswold	...	Demesne	...	b	Oswold ... b
c	Bp of Bayeux	...	Richard	...	c	Biga ... c
D	do.	...	Hugh	...	D	Aelmer ... D
E	do.	...	Ilbert. <i>Ralf 4 hid.</i>	...	E	Lewin 20 hid. ... E
b	Ulwin 'de Rege'	...		...	b	allodarii 10 hid... b
c	Restald 'in Walling-	...	-ton H ^d . ' [<i>? in Croy-</i>	...	c	<i>-don see p.16]</i> ... c
F	Bp of Bayeux	...	Canons of Bayeux	...	F	Turgis of Harold ... F
G	Will. d. Braiose	...	Halsart	...	G	Gotovi of Harold ... G
b	Bp of Bayeux	...	Ralph...	...	b	Two brothers G ... b
H	do.	...	Hugh d. Port	...	H	3 freemen G ... H
I	do.	...	Nigel	...	I	Ansfrig ... I
b	Rich. f. Gilbert	...	Oswold	...	b	Oswold ... b
K	do.	...	John	...	K	Alwin ; Lefelin ; Coleman. MMM G ... K
L	do.	...	<i>Roger 2 hid.</i> Demesne	...	L	Cola ... L
						Mervin G... Alric, Almer M G Coleman M G
M	Ralf d. Felgers	...	Demesne	...	M	Css Goda ... M
N	Will. f. Ansculf	...	with Milton (Dork ^g)...	...	N	not given ... N
	35 b 1 line 51		36 a 1 v.p.15			
O	Seman	...	35 b 1 line 46	...	O	the same Seman ... O
b	Godwin	...	" " 49	...	b	the same Godwin ... b
P	Oswold	...	Seman	...	P	Seman ... P
Q	Ab. of Westminster...	...	35 b 1 line 45	...	Q	not given ... Q

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	demmen		vill	bor	serv
210	20	24	A Epsom ††	34	11	17	20	...	17	1	17	34	4	6 A
210	100	14	<i>Evesham</i>	131	131	...	20	16	16 ⁿ	1	15	48	4	... B
			B Ewell <i>Etwell</i> ...											
			b ? in do. <i>v.p.15</i> ...											
1/2 6	...	...	c ? in do. ...	49 3/4	1	1/4	1	1/2	1 1/3	1	...	...	1	... c
44	6 ⁿ	10	C Fetcham	7	0	...	3	3	2 1/2	3/4	2	3	10	... C
6 1/2	4	10	b <i>Feceham</i>	11	3	...	4	...	5	1	5	12	6	... b
6 1/2 ⁿ	13 ⁿ	10	c do.	8 1/2	4	5	3	2 1/2	3	1	1	8	3	2 c
1 1/2 12	3	5	D Pachesham ... 30 1/2	4	3/4	...	2	1	3 1/2	2	2	11	8	4 D
3 1/3	...	...	<i>Pachevesham</i>	26	5	...	11	5	9 3/5	1	6	7	9	4 E
			E Cuddington <i>v.p.16</i> ...											
			b do.											
...	...	...	c do. [1/4 lost] 30	2	1 3/4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	... c
...	h ⁷	4	F Ashtead	9	3 1/2	...	10	6	12	2	14	33	11	9 F
...	3	...	<i>Stede</i>	5	1/2	3	5	1	2 1/4	1	1	2	5	... G
...	1	...	G Tadworth (-orne) ...											
...	...	...	b <i>Tadorde</i>	5	1 1/2	2	2	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	3	4	1 b
...	...	...	H Borough <i>v.p.16</i> ...	5	2 1/2	...	<i>va</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>ed</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>Wa</i>	<i>let</i>	<i>one</i>	H H
...	3	2	<i>Berge</i>	5	5	4	3	2 1/2	4	2	?	4	4	2 I
...	1	1	I Mickleham											
...	...	...	b <i>Mic(h)leham</i>											
...	...	...	K Walton on hill ...	15	2 1/8	5	6	6	6	2 1/2	2	10	1	7 K
...	...	5	<i>Wallone</i>	22	4 ⁿ	5	5	3	5 1/2	2	2	5	4	9 L
...	...	...	L Leatherhead											
...	...	3	<i>Tornecrosta v.p.15</i>											
...	...	...	with do.	1 1/4	1	...	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	1	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	with do.	1										
...	...	...	with do. (? 19 1/4) 25 1/4	1										
...	...	15	M Headley <i>Hallega</i> ...	7	2 1/4	...	7	5	5	1	5	9	5	8 M
...	...	...	N in this hund. ...	9	2	2	[1]	...	1	...	...	...	...	... N
...	...	1/2	O Mideham	1	1	...	1	1	1	1	...	...	3	... O
...	...	...	b in do.	1/4	1/4	...	...	...	1/8	...	...	...	...	... b
...	...	...	P in this hund.	1/4	1/4	...	...	...	1/2	...	...	...	...	... P
...	...	...	Q in this hund.	2	2	...	<i>va</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>ed</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>oth</i>	<i>er</i>	H Q
				197	68 1/8		112		105	26	79	203	94	54

B. Reddit 25l.

C. 'From pannage and herbage 6 pigs.'

Cc. 'From pannage and herbage 13 pigs;'
1/8 mill and 1/3 of another.

L. T.R.W. 4 hides less 4 acres.

Diagram

A B E
CDF H
L M K G
IN

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Will. d. Braiose ...	Halsard	A Gotovi of Harold ... A
b Ab. of Chertsey ...	Dem. <i>Gunfrid</i> 1 hid.	b [Chertsey] b
B do. ...	Oswold	B Oswald B
b Rich. f. Gilbert...	Oswold	b Azor b
c do. ...	Oswold	c a freeman sold c
		<i>to Azor T.R.W.</i>
C do. ...	Salie's wife <i>v.p.</i> 30K	C Alvric C
b do. ...	do.	b Almar b
D Oswald	Demesne	D the same Oswald ... D

(FARNHAM *not rubricated*)

Bp of Winchester ...	Dem. <i>Ralf</i> $3\frac{3}{4}$ h. ...	St. Peter's Winchester...
	<i>Will.</i> 3h. <i>Wazo</i> 1 h. ...	
	<i>Osbern</i> d. <i>Ow</i> the ch.	worth £6 with 1 hid. in Hants

GODELMINGE (GODALMING)

A The King	Demesne	A King Edward A
b do.	Ran. Flambarð...	b Ulmer b
c do.	do.	c Lewin c
B Bp of Bayeux	Demesne	B Tovi G... .. B
C Earl Roger	Turolð	C Osmund C
D Wolwi the huntsman	Demesne	D the same Wolwi... .. D
E Bp of Bayeux	Demesne	E Ansgot G E
F Walt. f. Other	Demesne	F Brixi F
G do.	Tezelin	G Alwin G
H do.	Girard	H Alward H
I Gilb. f. Richer	Demesne	I Earl Godwin I
K Ed. d. Salisbury ...	Randulf	K Azor K

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
...	11	4	A Bookham	5	2	3	2½	2½	3	1	1	3	4	... A
10	80 ^a	6	b Bocheham †	26	13	19	16	...	15	1	19	32	4	3 b
...	10	1	B Effingham	6	2½	2	2	...	2	...	½	2	9	... B
{	5	4	b Epingeham	{ 6 }	2½	5	5	4½	6	2	2	6	5	6 b
			c [? this hund.]	{ 1¼ }										
...	...	...	C in Driteham	1½	1½	2	[2]	...	2	1	...	...	2	2 C
...	...	...	b in do.	1½			?2	?2	1½	...	...	1	2	... b
...	...	...	D Pechingeorde	1	1	3	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	2 D
				48½	22½	34	31	...	31	6	24	47	28	13

(FARNHAM not rubricated)

46½	150½	35	Farnham	60	40	...	55	30	38	5	29	36	11	11
...	25	...	Ferneham						9	3	6	22	9	...
				60	40		55		47	8	35	58	20	11

GODELMINGE (GODALMING)

												vill	cott	serv
41½	100	25	A Godalming ††	24	nq	30	25	20	30 ⁿ	3	19	50	29*	2 A
			Godelminge											
...	3	15	b the church included (3)	nq	2	4	...	4	1	2	5	12	...	b
			(?) in 24 hid. of A.											
...	...	...	c Tuesley (in God.)	1	(1 ⁿ)	1	3	2	2	1	...	1	6	1 c
			Tiwesle v.p.3											
...	4	2	B Rodsell	5	0	2	2	2	2	...	1	3	4	... B
			Rodessolham											
...	...	5	C Losely	3	2	2	2	1	3	1	3	7	1	2 C
			Losele											
...	...	2	D Littleton	5	2 ⁿ	¼	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	... D
			Litletone											
...	3	15	E Farncomb	3½	0	2	1½	1½	1½	...	2	8	3	... E
			Fernecome											
...	...	7	F Compton †	17½	14	11	10	8	6	9	3	6	21	8 F
			Conlone											
11	...	6	G Hurtmore	15	3	3	2½	1½	5	2	1½	3	2	... G
			Hormera											
15	...	7	H Pepperharrow	5	3	3	1½	1½	5	2	1	4	3	... H
			Pipereherge											
...	30	3	I Witley †	20	12	16	15	15	16	2	13	37	3	... I
			Witlei											
2½	30	3	K Hambledon	5	3	4	5	5	5	2	5	8	1	13 K
			Hameledone	97½	35¼	76	70		83	18	54	148	73	25

Fingeham

Ab From herbage 30 pigs.

Godalming—* **A** has bordars.

A. Renders 30 l. burnt and weighed.

Ac 'nunquam geldavit.'

D. 'Then 2 hides, but they did not pay geld.'

Diagram

B G F E

H A

I K

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Ab. of Chertsey ...	Demesne	A Ab. of Chertsey A
b 'sub rege' (wrongly)	<i>Rich. Sturm</i> 2½ h.	b a man of Abbey L b
B Ab. of Chertsey... ..	Demesne	B [Chertsey] B
C do.	Dem.; <i>Gozelin</i> 3 h. ...	C Chertsey C
D do.	Dem.; <i>Odmer</i> 4 h. ...	D [Chertsey] D
b	<i>Corbelin</i> 2 h. terræ vill.	b b
E do.	<i>Ulwin</i>	E <i>Ulwin</i> E
F Ab. of Westminster...	(no writ) Demesne ...	F Earl Harold... .. F

KINGSTON and REIGATE *see p. 24*

TENRIGE (TANDRIDGE)

A Ab. of Chertsey ...	?	A not given A
B do. ...	<i>Hugh</i>	B <i>Canan</i> B
C Bp of Bayeux ...	<i>Anschitil</i> d. Ros ...	C <i>Alvric</i> C
D Ab. of Battle ...	Demesne	D <i>Harold</i> D
E <i>Haimo</i> sheriff ...	Demesne	E <i>Goltovi</i> E
F Count <i>Eustace</i> ...	Demesne	F <i>Gida</i> mother of <i>Harold</i> F
G do. ...	Demesne	G <i>Osward</i> G
H Rich. f. <i>Gilbert</i> ...	Dem.; <i>Roger</i> ½ hid. ...	H <i>Alnod</i> H
I do. ...	Dem.; <i>Odinus</i> 2½ hid. <i>Lemci</i> 2 h. <i>Peter</i> 1½ h.	I <i>Aelfech</i> M; <i>Alwin</i> M; <i>Elnod</i> M I
K do. ...	the wife of <i>Salie</i> ...	K <i>Torbern</i> K
L do. ...	do.	L <i>Alnod</i> L
M do. ...	<i>Rob. d. Wateville</i> ...	M <i>Ulward</i> M
b do. ...	do.	b <i>Tochi</i> b
N do. ...	do.	N <i>Tovi</i> N
O do. ...	do.	O <i>Azor</i> O
P do. ...	<i>John</i>	P <i>Ulstán</i> P
Q Ab. of Chertsey...	<i>William</i>	Q terra dominica <i>Alwini</i> G Q

TANDRIDGE

D. Two quarries; 3 hawks' nests.**E.** 'Pro pastura septimus porcus villanorum.'**F.** A house in Southwark of 2d.**G.** Reddit 28l. ad pensum; 15 houses giving 6s. and 1000 herrings.**H.** In Southwark 3 *hagæ* of 15d; & in London 2 houses of 10d.**I.** In London and Southwark 7 houses of 5s. 4d.**M.** De consuetudine 1 porcus.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
... ⁿ	50	200	A Chertsey	5	5	...	18	...	22	2	17	39	20	... A
...	...	...	b Certesy(g)						2	1	1	1	4	... b
...	24	33	B Thorpe Torþ	10	7	...	12	...	12	1	8	24	12	... B
...	50 ⁿ <i>h</i> ²⁵	120	C Egham Egeham	40	15	240	40	...	30½	2	10	25	32	... C
...	130	10	D Chobham ††	10	10	12	16	...	12½	1	11	29	6	3 D
...	...	...	b in Cebeham ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	3	1	3	7	4	... b
5	10	6	E Byfleet † 1½ fishery Biflet 125 eels	8	2½	2	5	...	4	1	2	7	2	3 E
210	80 <i>h</i> ⁿ	15	F Pirford ⁿ Peliford	35	27 ⁿ	8	13	12	10	18	1	6	37	14 3 F
				100	47½		103		104	10	58	169	94	9

KINGSTON and REIGATE see p. 25

TENRIGE (TANDRIDGE)

...	...	...	A ? In this hund.	¾	¾	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...A
...	...	...	B A manor	4	½	4	4	1	2	1	?	5	2	... B
...	...	...	C Tatsfield Tatelefelle	½	½	[2]	1½	2	3	1	1	5	9	12 C
2	150	4	D Limpsfield ⁿ † Limenesfeld	25	0	12	20	15	24	5	14	25	6	10 D
...	ⁿ	...	E Titsey † Ticesei	20	2	8	10	6	11	4	5	14	31	9 E
212½	100	4	F Oxted ⁿ † Acstede	20	5	20	16	10	14	2	18	34	9	6 F
6	100	3	G Godstone ⁿ Wachelstede	40	6	30	20	16	20 ⁿ	3	22	39	2	10 G
2½	50 <i>h</i> ¹²	16	H Chivington ⁿ Civentone	20	6	12	11	6	10	2½	10	23	6	9 H
...	40 <i>h</i> ¹⁸	14	I Bletchingley ⁿ Blachingelei	10	3	16	13	8	12	3	9	20	4	7 I
4½	40 <i>h</i> ¹¹	5	K Tandridge Tenrige	10	2	10	6	2	11	3	11	20	10	... K
...	30	...	L Tillingdon † Tellingedone	10	1½	4	7	3	6 ⁿ	2	2½	5	...	8 L
...	ⁿ	...	M Chelsham b C(h)elsham †	10	2	4	6	3	8	2	3	6	11	4 M
...	...	...	N Farley Ferlega	6	½	2½	3	1	3	1	1	4	1	1 N
...	5	...	O ? Warlingham † 20 A Manor v.p. 2	14	2	4	8	5	8	2	3	11	7	... O
...	...	...	P Woldingham Wallingeham	8	1	[4]	4	1	4	1½	3	6	3	3 P
...	...	...	Q in this hund.	10	2	0	[1]	1	¼	½	...	...	1	1 Q
				210¼	34¾	138	137		147	36	108	231	111	83

GODLEY

A Ad hallam a mill and ferraria.
F Gelded after Harold had it as 16 hides
ad libitum Haroldi; de pasnagio et
herbaggio 80 porci; 3 hides in the
king's forest.

Diagram

C
B
A
D F E

TANDRIDGE

Diagram

N
O M
L P E C
I H GK FD

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Dem. <i>Rich. f. Gilbert</i> $\frac{1}{4}$ hid. wrongly	A not given A
B Abp of Canterbury ...	Dem.; <i>Ralfⁿ 1 hid.</i> <i>Restoldⁿ 7 hid.</i>	B [Canterbury] B
C do.	de victu monach. ...	C do. C
D Ab. St. Peter's West-	minster. Dem.	D [Westminster] D
b The King	Orcus; <i>lay always in</i> <i>Merton but not in</i>	b Orcus b
E Ab. St. Peter's Win-	chester. Dem.	E [Winchester] E
F Ab. of Chertsey ...	Demesne	F [Chertsey] F
G do.	do.	G do. G
H do.	do.	H do. H
I do.	Haimo sheriff	I Alward G I
b do.	do.	b Ulward G b
K Ab. of Barking... ..	Demesne	K K
L C. of Mortain	Demesne	L Ailmar L
M Bp of Bayeux	Canons of Bayeux ...	M Brictric M
b do.	Otbert	b Brictric (in pledge) ... b
c do.	Ansgot	c [? Brictric]... .. c
d do. (31. b. 2)	Ansgot	d Epi [? duplicate] ... d
e do.	Canons of Bayeux ...	e Two men e
f Will. f. Ansculf... ..	Demesne	f Lemar... .. f
N do.	Will. chamberlain ...	N Lanch N
b Bp of Bayeux	Canons of Bayeux ...	b Edmaer b
O do. (31. b. 2)	Adam f. Hubert	O O
P do.	Richard. <i>Geof. 5 hid.</i> <i>Ralf 2 hid.; Ulsi 1 hid.; Adam f.</i>	P Alnod P
Q do.	Ralf.	Q Derinc... .. Q
R Miles Crispin	Will. f. Turolde	R Ulf R
S Rich. f. Gilbert... ..	Rob. d. Wateville ...	S Azor S
T do.	Demesne	T Azor T
V Geof. d. Mandeville...	Dem. <i>Wesman son-in-</i> <i>lawⁿ of Geof. f. Earl Eustace 6 hid.</i>	V 5 freemen G V as 5 manors
W Albert clericus... ..	Demesne	W Oswald W
b Tezelin the cook ...	Demesne	b Godric... .. b
X Walter d. Douai ...	a freeman G put him- self under Walter for	X [? the freeman] ... X protection

A. Silva in Chent. Rich. d. Tonebrige tenet
1 virg. cum silva, unde abstulit rusticum
qui ibi manebat; nunc reddit vice-
comiti 10 s.

B. [R. et R.] habent de gablo 7l 8s.

D. Tamen reddit 15l.

E. Tamen reddit 15l.

R. In Lond. 13 houses, Southwark 8.

S. In London 15 houses.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	cott	serv
230	...	8	A Wallington <i>Waletone</i>	11	11	11	15	...	10 ⁿ	1	10	15	14*	3 A
5	200	8	B Croydon † <i>Croindene</i>	80	16 ¹ / ₄	20	12	12	37 ¹ / ₂ ⁿ	4	34	48	25*	... B
...	25	1	C Cheam † <i>Ceam</i>	20	4	14	8	8	14	2	15	25	12	5 C
40	...	...	D Morden <i>Mordone</i> ...	12	3	[7]	6	...	10 ⁿ	3	4	8	5	1 D
...	...	2	b [? this hund. Per- haps in Morden]	2	0	[1]	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	b
...	30	...	E Sanderstead <i>Sandeslede</i>	18	5	10	5	7	12 ⁿ	1	8	21	1	4 E
...	6	...	F Waddington † <i>Watendone</i>	20	5	8	6	...	7	1	5	17	2	... F
...	3	...	G Coulsdon <i>Colesdone</i>	20	3 ¹ / ₂	10	6	...	7	1	6	10	4	... G
...	10	2	H Sutton †† <i>Sudtone</i>	30	8 ¹ / ₂	15	20	...	15	2	13	21	4	2 H
...	...	11	I in this hund.	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	[1]	1	1	1	1	...	6	3	I
...	5	...	b do. <i>v.p.2</i>	1 ¹ / ₂			1 ¹ / ₄	1 ¹ / ₄	1 ¹ / ₄	...	...	1	...	b
...	6	...	K do.	2	1	...	1 ¹ / ₄	2 ³ / ₃	1	...	1 ¹ / ₂	2	...	K
...	9	...	L do.	2 ¹ / ₄	2 ¹ / ₄	[3]	2	1	2	...	3	4	9	... L
...	40	...	M Mitcham	5	5	2	2	2	2	...	2	4	1	1 M
...	4	...	b in Michelham ...	1	1	...	...	...	7 ¹ / ₂	0	0	...	...	b
...	...	...	c in do.	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	...	...	...	1 ¹ / ₄	...	...	...	...	c
...	...	...	d in this hund. ...	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	...	1 ¹ / ₄	1 ¹ / ₄	1 ¹ / ₄	...	...	...	...	d
...	12	...	e in Micheham	2 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	[2]	1	1	1	1	1 ¹ / ₂	1	2*	1 e
120	...	...	f Michelham	2 ¹ / ₄	2 ¹ / ₄	[2]	2	2 ³ / ₈	2	...	...	2	6	... f
20	...	24	N Witford (Mitcham)	2	1	[2]	2 ¹ / ₂	2	3	1	1	2	...	... N
...	4	...	b Witford	22 ¹ / ₂	3	3	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	11 ¹ / ₂	1	2	2	6	... b
...	...	...	O in this hund.	1	nq.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	O
20	20	...	P Banstead <i>Beneste</i>	30	29	9 ¹ / ₂	10	5	8	2	15	28	15	7 P
...	...	...	Q Chaldon <i>Chalvedone</i>	2	2	2	2	1	4	2	...	...	...	Q
235	5	20	R Beddington ⁿ † ...	25	3	6	10	6	9 ¹ / ₂	1	6	13	13	1 R
240	5	24	S Beddintone ⁿ	25	3	6	10	6	10	1	5	16	14	5 S
20	10	4	T Woodmansterne † ... <i>Odemestor</i>	15	15 ⁿ	3	10	5	8	2	3	1	12	18 T
...	12	...	V Carshalton † <i>Aultone</i>	27	3 ¹ / ₂	10	20	5	10	1	5	9	9	7 V
35	2	...	...	...	...	2	(4)	(2)	5 ¹ / ₂	1	3	3	1	3
...	20	...	W Addington	8	2	4	5	...	5	2	1 ¹ / ₂	5	4	... W
...	20	...	b Edintone	8	1	4	5	5	5	2	2 ¹ / ₂	8	9	... b
...	...	...	X in hund. [perhaps a duplicate] ...	2	2	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	... X
				378	116 ¹ / ₂	163	165		201	34	145	265	175	61

* **A, B, Md** have bordars. The grouping of the hides is uncertain.

T. Tunc et modo 15 hid. nunquam geldum dedit.

V. Given by Geoffrey with his daughter.

D	MN	RS
C	H	V
P	T	E
	Q	GF

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Demesne	A King Edward A
B do.	<i>Wall. f. Other $\frac{3}{4}$ hid.</i>	<i>a forester $\frac{3}{4}$ hid.</i>
C Earl Roger	Dem. church $\frac{1}{2}$ hid. ...	B King Edward B
D do.	Turald	C Osmund C
E Walt. f. Other	<i>2 knights 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.</i>	D Osmund D
	Turald	
	<i>Godric 1 hid.</i>	E Brixi E
b Abp of Canterbury ...	Demesne	
c Bp Osbern	de victu monach. ...	b [Canterbury] b
F do.	Ansgot 4 hid.;	c Bp Osbern c
	Godfrey 4 hid.	
	Demesne	F Elmer huntsman ... F
G Ab of Chertsey	<i>the sheriff put it</i>	<i>'extra firmam R.E.'</i>
b Bp of Bayeux	the villeins	G Ab. of Chertsey... .. G
c Ed. d. Salisbury	in Bramley	b Anschil <i>v.p. 15</i> b
H Ab. of Chertsey	Hugh	c Fulcui c
	Demesne	H Azor H
I Geof. d. Mandeville... ..	Demesne	I Suen M. Lewin M. ... I
K Rich. f. Gilbert	Demesne	K Aelmar K
L do.	Ralf	L Almar L
b do.	?	b Alwin G b
M Oswold	Demesne	M Oswold of E. Harold... M
N Chetel the huntsman		N Chetel's father N
O Robert Malet	Demesne	O Wenesi O
P Alvred de... ..	Rain. f. Erchinbald ...	P Carlo P
Marlborough	<i>Waller 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.; Herbert</i>	<i>9 hid. de terra villorum</i>

A. Valuit 15*l* ad numerum; modo 15*l* ad pensum et vicecomiti 25*s*. The forester's 3 virg. were put *extra manerium* by King Edward.

B. Tamen qui tenent reddunt 15*l* ad pensum. The Sheriff has 25*s*. The wood is in the king's park.

Mills shill.	Wood pige	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
11½	133	32	A Woking ⁿ † ... <i>Wochinges</i>	15½	nq.	6	15	15	15 ⁿ	1	20	33	9	... A
25	40 ⁿ	16	B Stoke ⁿ † ... <i>Stochae</i>	17	0	16	12	12	15 ⁿ	2	20	24	10	5 B
...	60	8	C Worplesdon † <i>Werpesdune</i>	25	8	6½	7	10	10	10	1	6	13	3 1 C
2½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	3	2	...
15	80	25	D Burgham <i>v.p.1</i> ... <i>Borham</i>	4	3	5	8	8	7	1	3½	7	2	4 D
...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	4	3	1
...	20	...	E West Horsley † <i>Orselei</i>	10	8	6	8	5	6	2	5	14	5	8 E
...	30	...	b (East) <i>Horslei</i> ...	14	3⅜	5	4	4	4 ⁿ	1	7½	13	6	3 b
2½	28 ⁿ	14	c East Horsley (<i>V.H.</i>) <i>Wochingesⁿ</i>	8	3½	9½	10	10	9½	1½	8½	20	6	3 c
...	...	...	F Titing ... <i>Telinges</i>	1	1	2	3	3	2	1	1	1	6	... F
...	6	...	G East Clandon ...	10	4	5	6	...	4 ⁿ	...	7	6	12	... G
...	...	...	b added to Clandune	2	0	1	[2]	...	1⅔	...	1	3	1*	... b
3	5	...	c West <i>do.</i> †	50	5	2½	3	2½	2½	3	1	1½	4	5 ... c
...	50	4	H Henley (Park) † <i>Henlei</i>	8	5½	5	6	...	5	1	5	10	6	2 H
...	30	6	I Wanborough † <i>Weneberge</i>	15	7	3	7	7	5	7	1	8	12	17 8 I
...	60	2	K Ockham † <i>2fish.10d.</i> <i>Bocheham v.p.2</i>	9	1½	4	5	5	5	1	2	6	2	3 K
...	20	...	L Ockley <i>v.p.14</i> ...	1	1	4	3½	3½	3½	1	4	9	3	2 L
...	...	...	b in <i>Hoclei</i> ...	½	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	... b
10	6	6	M Wisley † <i>fish. 5d....</i> <i>Wiselei</i>	3½	1½	2	2	...	3	1	2	4	4	2 M
2	20	4	N Lodesorde ...	15	1 ½	2	2½	2½	2½	1	1	2	5	... N
5	25	20	O Sutton (Place) ... <i>Sudtune</i>	5	3	3	8	8	5	1	2	5	5	6 O
21½	160	84	P Send † <i>5fish. 54d....</i> <i>Sande</i>	20	20	10	20	...	10	2	6	14	10	8 P
2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5½	2	...	1	16	7
				149½	67⅞	102	134				124	26	112	208 138 63

Eb. Tamen reddit 5*l.*

Ec. The hundred has been entered instead of the manor. Has a 'custom' to put 120 swine in the king's park at Woking.

G. Tamen villani reddunt 6*l.*

* **Gb** This man is a "cotter;" *v.p.9.*

Diagram

				A	M
H	C	O	P	K	
I	B	D	G	E	
		F			: I.

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065	
A Bp of Bayeux	in Bramley <i>v.p.15</i> ...	A Alvric G. 31 a. 2 Herulf G. 32 a 1	A
b The King ... ..	... ..	b	b
c do. ... ..	... ..	c	c
d Roger... .. <i>with</i>	<i>Compton (Sussex)</i> ...	d	d
B The King ... *	Demesne	B Queen Edith	B
b Rich. f. Gilbert... ..	<i>in no manor</i>	b ? Edric's daughters G...	b
c Bp of Bayeux	Herfrey	c	c
C Rich. f. Gilbert... ..	Demesne	C Cola	C
D Will. f. Ansculf... ..	Baldwin	D Ulvric	D
E do.	Dem.; <i>Hugh 3 hid.</i> ...	E a housecarl	E
F do.	Demesne	F a housecarl	F
G Ralf d. Felgers	Demesne	G Abbot Alsi	G
H Oswold	Demesne	H Harold... ..	H
b do. <i>R. f. Gilb.</i>	<i>(Corbelin of him) 1 hid.</i>	b Tedric of Harold M...	b
I Rich. f. Gilbert	<i>'in no manor of Richard's'</i>	I Cola <i>liber</i> G... ..	I
K Will f. Ansculf	Baldwin	K Alfer G	K
L do.	Baldwin	L Ordui G	L

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead. ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	demmen		vill	bor	serv
...	...	...	A with Sutton ... <i>in man^o. Sudtone</i>	21½	0	2	[2]	...	13½	..	...	...	...	A
...	...	...	b with Shere ...	¾	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	b
...	...	...	c with Gomshall ...	1	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	c
...	...	...	d <i>in this hund.</i> ...	1	0	[1]	1	1	¾	1	...	...	...	d
3 15½	50 ⁿ	3	B Dorking † ...	10½	0	14	18	18	18	2	14	38	13	4 B
n			b <i>in Dorchinges?</i> ...	1	1	[1]	[1]	...	1	1	...	...	1	b
...	...	...	c <i>in Dochinges?</i> ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	c
10	80	3	C Betchworth † ... <i>Becesworde</i>	6	2	7	9	9	8	1	3	6	10	6 C
2	9	2	D Milton (Dork.) ... <i>Mildetone</i>	24½	6	4½	3½	3	3	1	4	10	9	4 D
6	40	4	E Paddington ... <i>Padendene</i>	4	3	9	9	7	7	0	7	12	5	... E
6	40	3	F Abinger † ... <i>Abenceborne</i>	10	6	4	8	7	7	2	5	10	7	5 F
2½	30	2½	G Westcot (Dork.) ... <i>Wescote</i>	10	10	3	7	9	8	8	1	7	14	5 3 G
20	50	3	H Wotton— ... b <i>Odelone</i>	5	5	[9]	8	8	7	1	8½	20	7	... H
...	...	...	...	1	½	[1]	1	...	½	...	½	2	...	1 b
...	15	...	I Hartshurst ... <i>Arsesle</i>	2	2	4	2¼	2¼	2¼	...	3	8	...	I
...	...	...	K <i>ad Lilelfeld</i> ...	½	½	1	[½]	...	½	1	...	...	1	... K
...	...	...	L <i>at Anstiebury</i> <i>ad Hanstega</i>	9½	1	1	...	...	20	...	...	...	...	L
				59¼	27½	70	72		65	11	52	120	58	23

Bb A mill 'ad hallam'

A H G DB C
E F IL

NOTE ON THE TABLES FOR BERKSHIRE.¹

For Berkshire Domesday gives us much interesting detail, but in some of the regular items it is rather slipshod. There are a dozen cases or more in which the rubric for the hundred has been omitted. The record of churches is very irregular; it is obvious that there must have been many more churches in the county than are given; possibly it is only those to which land was attached that are entered, but in many cases no land is actually mentioned as held with the church. The number also of the teamlands is often omitted, as it is in Surrey. In the valuations we have occasionally '*valuit T.R.E. et post £a, modo valet £c,*' but much more often '*valuit £a, modo valet £c.*' In the latter case '*valuit*' may cover both 1065 and 1067, but nothing has been entered for 1067 in the table. '*Valet et valuit £a*' has been taken to imply '*semper*'.² The general style is very similar to that of Surrey; *herbagium* however, common in some hundreds of Surrey, is not found in Berkshire, and *silva ad clausuram* is found in Berkshire, but not in Surrey; while both terms are found in Hampshire, which comes between them.

The Victoria History does not leave many of the Domesday place-names without identification. None however is given for 'Nachededorne' with 20 hides among the lands of the king. It is unusual for such a large manor to leave no trace of its name, and it looks as if the compiler has entered the name of the hundred instead of the vill.³ If so, this estate looks like the 20 hides 'in Ilsley' which had once been appurtenant to the Bishop of Salisbury's manor of Sonning and had been held by Aubrey de Coucy. This Aubrey appears to be the Aubrey who was for a time Earl of Northumberland after the death of Bishop Walcher in 1080 and whose lands had escheated before 1086, when the twenty hides in Ilsley or his interest in them would have passed into the hands of the king⁴; the fact that they had been 'in Sonning' might perhaps lead to some doubt as to the name that ought to be given to them; in the hundred of Wantage also there seems to be a tendency to drop the name of land of which the title was in dispute. Edric, not the bishop, is given as holding T.R.E. the 20 hides of 'Nachededorne,' but that is not unnatural in such a case; perhaps Edric had a lease for lives, or perhaps he was the original owner and it was claimed that the land had never passed for good and all to the

¹ The tables for this county are based in part on a table of the hides and holders compiled by the Rev. F. W. Ragg, which he has very kindly placed at my disposal.

² See the note to Surrey p. 7 above.

³ See p. 46 below. There seems to be a similar mistake on f31 a, where Domesday reads 'Bishop Osbern holds Woking, the estate being

really at Horsley (V. H. Surrey).

⁴ Mr. A. S. Ellis (York. Arch. Journ. iv 247) points out that in Yorkshire (Ch)icheltone and Catebi are assigned to A. de Coci by D.B. 329 b, but in the summary (379 a 2) to 'comes Alb.' For this earl see Baker's Northants i 561; Simeon of Durham (R. S.) ii 199; D. B. 224 a 2, 231 b 2.

Bishop. We may compare the very interesting entry (58 b 1) in which "Bishop Osbern holds Buckland *de episcopatu suo ut dicit. Ulvric T.R.E. ibi mansit. Unde iudicium non dixerunt, sed ante Regem ut iudicet dimiserunt.*"¹ 'Wibalditune' in Blewbury hundred adjoined Appleford, one of the boundary points of which was the 'old dyke that lies between Wibaldinctune and Appleford,' and it is probably Didcot.² 'Lonchelei' in Reading hundred seems from the table to have been near Pangbourne. 'Hurlei' in the same hundred on f62 b 2, looks like a mistake for Burlei with which it makes up 5 hides. The initials B and H were liable to be confused if damaged; in Surrey, as we have seen, Domesday gives Bochecham for Hocheham (p. 2). 'Hurlei' must from the Domesday order have been in Reading hundred, and is therefore probably not the same as 'Herlei,' now Earley, which was in Charlton hundred and has besides a round 10-hide rating of its own.

That the original returns for Berkshire from which Domesday was compiled were arranged hundred by hundred and vill by vill, in the form of the well known Cambridgeshire Inquisition, appears to be shown by the fact that, as in Surrey, all the entries in certain hundreds—Beynhurst, Blewbury, Hesletsford and Wantage—have cotters but no bordars, while in the other hundreds, except Ganfield, we have bordars but no cotters. It is pretty clear that the two names are not only used as alternatives, but also as coextensive, neither of them including more than the other, for the proportion of each name to the *villani* is about the same; in neighbouring hundreds we have in Wantage cotters 318 to 174 villani and in Hilleslau bordars 127 to 75; in Hesletsford cotters 162 to 106 and in Nachededorne bordars 100 to 75; in Blewbury cotters 154 to 164 and in Tatcham bordars 100 to 117. The hundreds of Blewbury, Hesletsford and Wantage have also the further peculiarity that the Saxon owners are generally said to hold as 'freemen' instead of 'from the king', which is the common phrase in Berkshire. We may notice that, though locally Beynhurst was far away from the three others, in the order of the return it came, as we shall see, near and perhaps next before Blewbury, which was followed by the other two. Ganfield is rather puzzling. As a rule it has cotters, but we find bordars on Henry de Ferrers' large manor of Stanford and on his 2½ hides at Pusey, also at Hatford and Newton held by Gilbert de Bretville (see p. 44). All these should belong to Ganfield, and they have been tabulated there, but they have not the Ganfield rubric, so that we cannot be certain that they were still there in 1086. We also find bordars in Ganfield on the king's manor of Littleworth and on the land of the king's thegns Odo de Winchester and Alsi de Faringdon. This suggests that the return for these lands came from the king's officers rather than from the jury for the hundred; we have seen a like feature in Surrey (p. 9). On the other hand in Beynhurst, Blewbury, Hesletsford and Wantage the lands of the king and his thegns agree with the rest in having cotters, not bordars; in these four hundreds therefore they seem to have been included with the rest in the general return of the juries. Perhaps the bailiffs of the royal land made their own return, but to the juries, not separately to the commissioners; in Ganfield the jury

¹ It is not quite clear whether '*iudicium*' is here used strictly for a decision of the commissioners or only for the opinion of the shire-moot.

² Abingdon Chron. i 52; Berks, Bucks, and Oxford Arch. Journal x 86 (1904).

or their clerk may have copied the bailiff's 'bordar' as it stood, but in the other four hundreds have changed it to 'cotter,' the term used in the rest of those hundreds.

The distribution of the woodland is also worth notice. Apart from the king's manors of Basildon and Sutton, which may have been taken from an official return, there is, with the exception of a 'little wood' at the Glastonbury manor of Ashbury, no mention of wood in any of the eight north-western hundreds, Hesletsford, Blewbury, Wantage, Hilleslau, Marcham, Sutton, Ganfield and Hormer. These hundreds cover all that part of the county which lies, roughly speaking, north of a line drawn from Pangbourne westward through Ilsley to Uffington and thence north to Farringdon. There is at least strong ground for suspicion that the entire absence of any mention of woodland in these hundreds was due, not always to nature, but also to omission in the returns. In the southern part of this district probably the wastes were in many, if not most cases, bare of trees and pannage¹—Wifol hundred too had very little wood and no pannage—but from Pusey and Appleton northwards the country must have been well furnished with woods. The meaning of '*sylva de n porcis*' has been dealt with in the note to Surrey (p. 12).

The assessment of the western hundreds, Wantage, Hilleslau, Shrivenham, Wifol, Ganfield and Marcham is twice as heavy in proportion to their teamlands as that of the hundreds of Beynhurst, Riplesmere, Charlton and Reading at the eastern end of the county. Each of these two groups had about 550 teamlands, but while the eastern group was rated at less than 450 hides, the western was rated at as much as 920; we have seen a like feature in Surrey (p. 4). As to the men, the number of bordars or cotters is comparatively small at the eastern end of the county, in the hundreds of Beynhurst, Riplesmere and Charlton; but large in the hundreds of Lambourn, Wantage and Hilleslau.

In Berkshire a larger proportion of the teams are on the demesne land than in Surrey. Where there are less than 15 teams about a third of them are on the average in demesne; in the larger of these estates often not so many, in the smaller ones generally a half or even more. But in the largest manors this proportion of a third does not hold at all; however many teams there are we seldom find more than 4 on the demesne land; Bray has only 3 in 28, Blewbury 4 in 19, Bucklebury 1 in 21, Wargrave 2 in 27, Sonning 5 in 46, Barton 3 in 37, Lambourn 4 in 29, Aldermaston 2 in 20, Reading 1 in 56, Bradfield 2 in 20, Welford 5 in 27, Chieveley 3 in 21, Shrivenham 4 in 34, Sutton Courtney 3 in 20. The majority of these were royal manors, but five of them were held by the Church, and Bradfield by William fitz Ansculf. We may notice that at Winkfield and Whistley, which were at some distance from the rest of its possessions, the Abbey of Abingdon did not, if the text is correct, keep any land at all in demesne. As in Surrey, the teams at work in 1086 are sometimes more very often less, and occasionally much less, than the number of teamlands; there is no attempt as in Herts and Bucks to account for the missing teams. The proportion of men, i.e. villeins and bordars, to the teams they had is larger in the small estates, smaller in the larger ones, and least on the very big manors, just as it is in Surrey (p. 7); we may say very roughly that

¹ There seems to have been none at Letcombe Bassett 100 years later; See V. H. i 310.

there are generally 6 or 7 men when they have only 1 team, about 8 when they have 2 teams, when they have 5 or 6 teams about 3 per team, and on the largest manors only about 2 per team. There is much variety, but in general the number of men was proportionately larger and their holdings on the average smaller on small estates than on the larger ones, which have a smaller proportion of land in demesne, and it looks as if the distribution of the men's land may to some extent have been connected with the wants of the demesne land.

That the original returns for the county were drawn up hundred by hundred as in the Cambridgeshire Inquisition is confirmed by the fact that the Domesday compiler appears to go through the hundreds in a regular order. The succession Riplesmere, Nachededorne, Bucklebury, Kintbury is found in fief 31 and also in the fiefs 7 *cum* 21; and that of Kintbury, Shrivenham, Blewbury, Ganfield, in 17 and in 7 *cum* 2 *cum* 21. There are so many small fiefs in Berkshire that the evidence is bound to be scanty, but it seems to be sufficient. The general order in which the hundreds were arranged appears to have been something as follows. The Domesday numbers of the fiefs by which it is justified are given in the margin, 7 being the Abingdon fief, 17 the Count of Evreux, 21 Henry de Ferrers, 38 Geoffrey de Mandeville, but the exact position of some hundreds is doubtful.

	FIEFS.			HUNDREDS	KING'S LAND.
	31	7	.	Riplesmere	[a] ¹ b ¹
	.	.	.	Bray	. b
	.	7	.	Charlton	. .
22	.	31	7 21	Nachededorne	} . b
.	.	31	. 21	Bucklebury	
53	.	.	. 21	Tatcham	a .
22.53	17 [31]	7 21.38		Kintbury	. b
	.	.	. 38	Lambourn	. b
	.	.	. 38	Eagle	. b
28	55	.	.	Wifol	. .
	17	.	7 .	Shrivenham	} . b
22	.	.	7 2	Hilleslau	
	.	.	21.38	Beynhurst	a .
	17	55	2 21	Blewbury	a .
	.	33	2 38	Hesletsford	a .
	28	33 [7]	21	Wantage	a .
22	.	.	. 21	Marcham	. .
	.	.	. 21	Sutton	. b
	17	.	7 [21]	Ganfield	. b
	.	.	. .	[Hormer] ?	. .
22	17	31	. 46	Reading	. b
	[17]	.	. 46	Roeberg	. .

¹ The a and b give the two successions in the Terra Regis.

In the king's land the compiler has for some reason gone through the list twice and the successions Nachededorne Bucklebury and Shrivenham Hilleslau are reversed. In the Abingdon fief the compiler began with Hormer, Roeberg and Marcham, apparently because those were the hundreds in which the Abbey held most land ;¹ Sutton follows, either because it was next to Marcham or because it contained the large manor of Milton. After that he goes through the regular order from Riplesmere down to Hilleslau and Ganfield. Then he seems to have noticed that he had missed two entries in Wantage and he has gone back to that hundred. He ends with an appendix of omissions—2 nameless hides, probably in Marcham, and Buckland in Ganfield. At the end of fief 33 there is a similar appendix of a previous omission in Reading, but generally the omissions, of which there are several, are entered in some blank space at the foot of the page. No other case has been noticed in which the rubrics given in Domesday violate the order given, but the compiler did not always begin at the beginning. In fief 22 he began at the end of the list with Reading where he had left off in doing the previous fief. In fief 17 also he begins with Reading, and in 46 with Tatcham, going back to Nachededorne at the end.² In one or two small fiefs he seems to have worked backwards.

The order is so far geographical as to make the position of Beynhurst, far from its local neighbours Riplesmere and Charlton, but next or near to Blewbury, very curious. As it is also a peculiarity of Beynhurst that it resembles Blewbury, Hesletsford and Wantage in having cotters instead of bordars, its position can hardly have been due to a misplaced sheet. The juries must have had the help of clerks to draw up their returns, and it is likely that each clerk was in charge of several juries (see p. 11); if Beynhurst was assigned to the same clerk as Blewbury, Hesletsford and Wantage, its return would be handed in with theirs and would agree with them in the use of 'cotter' instead of 'bordar.'

In a good many cases the hundred has been omitted; the rubric of:—

vii 59 b 1	Buckland*	. . . . .	should be	Ganfield not	Wantage
" "	" 2 hides preceding it	. . . . .	?	Marcham ³	" Wantage
xvii 60 a 1	Peasemore*	. . . . .		Roeberg	" Reading
xxi 60 b 2	Stanford (Vale) and Pusey, v. p. 40	?	Ganfield	"	Sutton
xxii 61 a 1	Yattenden and Stanford (Dingley)		Bucklebury,	"	Nachedorne
xxx 61 a 2	Eaton		Wifol		omitted
xxxv 61 b 2	Drayton*	. . . . .	Sutton	"	Lambourn
xxxvi 61 b 2	Hanney and $\frac{1}{2}$ hide		Wantage	"	Bucklebury
xliii 62 b 1	Avington.		Kintbury	"	Hesletsford
lxiv 63 b 1	"Solafel" (Swallowfield)*		Charlton	"	Reading
lxv 63 b 2	"Ingleflot" (Inglewood)*		Kintbury	"	Marcham

* These places have the right rubric under another fief.

¹ In Cambridgeshire, where the nature of the original return is beyond doubt, we have a somewhat similar case, for the Ely fief begins with the hundred of Radfield which should have come third.

² So also in Cambridgeshire Earl Alan's fief begins with the 5th hundred and ends with the 2nd, 3rd and 4th.

³ The holders point to these 2 hides being in Marcham near Frilford Tubney; the entry gives 'cotters,' which do not belong to Marcham hundred, but that may be a slip. There does not seem room in Wantage for these 2 hides, but they may, like Buckland, be in Ganfield, where there is room at Shellingford.

There are also one or two cases in which the name of the chief place is made to serve as that of the hundred, e. g. Kintbury on f61 b 1.

Besides these omissions Hesletsford is distinctly, but incorrectly, rubricated on f63 a 1 against Childrey and Sparsholt. The compiler did not notice that there was nothing to enter under Hesletsford and that he had passed on to Wantage; there is a similar blunder in Bucks¹ and another in Cambridgeshire on f199 a 2 where 'Chilford Hund.' should stand instead of 'Flendish,' which preceded it in the return. Perhaps there is a like mistake at the end of Gilbert de Bretville's fief (xxxvi) which runs thus '*in Marcham hundred, Hatford, Newton; in Marcham hundred, Peasemore.*' The natural rubric for Hatford and Newton would be Ganfield, which followed close after Marcham. But Peasemore was in Roeberg; it looks therefore as if the second '*in Marcham hundred*' may have been in the original return a note at the end of Newton; it seems possible that Gilbert may have got Hatford and Newton by lease or otherwise from the Abbey of Abingdon, which had attached them to Marcham before 1066. There is also a curious confusion on f62 a 1 over two entries of Hildeslei under the rubric 'Chenetberie.' First we have one hide, then 10 hides, both held T.R.E. by Ordulf. It is improbable that the hundred of Kintbury contained in 1065 or even in 1086 a large manor at the distant Ilsley, and there is little doubt that the 10 hides should like the rest of Ilsley be in Nachededorne hundred. The table however suggests that the 1 hide *was* locally at Boxford in Kintbury, but had been attached by Ordulf before 1066 to his manor of Ilsley, as Roger d'Ivri had attached a virgate at Eling in Bucklebury hundred (62 b 1) to his manor of Harwell in Blewbury. In the return for Nachededorne it was probably mentioned that this hide (? *hæc terra*) was in Kintbury, and the compiler by some confusion put the whole 11 hides under that rubric.

But, after allowing for these mistakes, there appear to be several cases in which lands had really been transferred from one hundred to another. Part of Benham, which must have belonged originally to Kintbury hundred, stands on f58 b 2 under the rubric of Roeberg. No doubt it had been attached to the preceding manor of Beedon in Roeberg held of Abingdon by the same tenant, Walter de Rivère, and had been actually moved into Roeberg hundred to join Beedon, for it is now in the hundred of Faircross. It has, however, for convenience been tabulated with the rest of Benham in Kintbury. So also Carswell (63 b 2), held T.R.E. by the queen, which must have been originally in Ganfield or Wifol, seems to have been moved before the conquest into Sutton hundred to join Queen Edith's large manor of Wittenham. For Sparsholt there are six entries; two of them among the king's lands. Three of these six are, and a fourth clearly should be, in Wantage; a fifth in the Abingdon fief stands under Hilleslau, but here too the Wantage rubric may have been forgotten. One, however, of the king's two manors, with 10 hides, is distinctly rubricated Hilleslau; it looks as if these 10 hides represent an estate, perhaps Kingston (Lisle), which did not originally belong to Sparsholt and which in 1086 was still in Hilleslau hundred, though it had been attached to the king's larger manor of Sparsholt in Wantage—possibly by sheriff Froger, who seems to have reorganised that manor. The king's part of

¹ See p. 131 below.

Hendred and also Steventon which follows it stand as in Sutton, but perhaps the Wantage rubric has been simply omitted. Challow and Letcombe Regis were in 1086 clearly in the hundred of Eagle, but must surely have been originally in Wantage for they cut off Sparsholt and Childrey from the rest of Wantage. So also among the Abingdon lands we find in the hundred of Marcham 10 hides at Hanney and also Goosey, both of which would naturally belong to the hundred of Wantage; both were 'de victu monachorum' and were probably attached to Marcham before 1066. It would be a convenience to king, queen or abbey to have in the same hundred estates which were under one management.

The 5-hide unit is conspicuous in the village ratings and, with the corrections which by its help we are able to make with general certainty, it is clear that each hundred was assessed at a round number of hides before the conquest, and probably also in the reduced assessment under William. After correction of rubrics the hundreds work out as follows:—

SAXON HIDES. HIDES 1086.

Bray and)						
A Beynhurst)	92 $\frac{3}{4}$	say 95	45 $\frac{3}{4}$	say 75	A	
B Riplesmere	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	60	26 $\frac{1}{2}$		B	[or 46 $\frac{1}{2}$] say 95] ^d
C Charlton	145 ^a	125-45 ^b	?45	?45	C	
D Reading	153 $\frac{1}{2}$	155	110 $\frac{1}{2}$	110	D	
E Hesletsford	117	120	43 $\frac{3}{4}$	45	E	
F Blewbury	127	130	79 $\frac{1}{4}$	80	F	
G Nachededorne	103	115 ^c	59 $\frac{3}{4}$	70 ^c	G	[or 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ say 75 ^c] ^d
H Bucklebury	47	50	30	30	H	
I Tatcham	74	75	33	100	I	
K Roeberg	128	130	66 $\frac{1}{2}$		K	
L Kintbury	133	125 ^c	74 $\frac{1}{8}$	65 ^c	L	[or 92 $\frac{5}{8}$ say 85 ^c] ^d
M Eagle	96	95	51	50	M	[or 54 say 55] ^d
N Lambourn	73	75	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	N	[or 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ say 40] ^d
O Wantage	239 $\frac{1}{8}$	240	? 133	135	O	
P Hilleslau	140	140	61 $\frac{1}{4}$	75	P	[or 71 $\frac{1}{2}$] say 130] ^d
Q Shrivenham	71	70	12		Q	[or 58] say 130] ^d
R Wifol	144	145	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	25	R	
S Ganfield	184 $\frac{3}{4}$	190	69	70	S	
T Marcham	141	140	110	110	T	
V Sutton	123 $\frac{1}{4}$	125	49 $\frac{1}{4}$	50	V	
W Hormer	110	110	70	70	W	

2502 2510-30 1213 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1225 [1328 1340-55]

^a Including an estimate for Swallowfield.

^b The 145 include 60 for Sonning, but 20 of these are probably duplicated in Nachededorne hundred, see next page.

^c In the correction 10 hides at Ilsley have been moved from Kintbury to Nachededorne, cf p. 44.

^d For some of the king's lands — Windsor, Compton, Kintbury, Shalbourn, Lambourn, Let-

For the early hidage we get a corrected total of 2530, if Charlton is taken as 145 hides, but it looks as if 20 of these 145 were duplicated. We read that "the Bishop of Salisbury holds Sonning; assessed T.R.E. at 60 hides, now at 24; . . . of the appurtenances of this manor Aubrey de Coci held 20 hides in Hildeslei (Hlsley), which of right belong to this manor." The entry is not quite clear, but apparently the 20 hides were included in the 60, though not in the 24, and should be accounted for under some other fief or fiefs. They look like the 20 hides entered among the king's land as 'Nachededorne' (p. 39). There is also a question of boundary. Domesday gives in Berkshire in Kintbury hundred a Shalbourne which with its hamlet Bagshot had 9 to 10 hides. But it forms a peninsula surrounded by Wiltshire, in which county other Shalbournes are surveyed with $5\frac{1}{4}$ hides, and the county boundary goes right through the village of Shalbourne. It seems probable that the 10 hides of the Berkshire Shalbourne-cum-Bagshot originally belonged to Wiltshire, but had been dragged into Berkshire before the conquest to join the king's manor of Eddington—perhaps by sheriff Godric who is given as the holder of Bagshot¹. If we deduct 30 (20 from the 60 of Sonning and 10 for Shalbourne-cum-Bagshot) from the corrected total of 2,530 hides, we get a round 2,500 hides and it seems probable, though not absolutely proven, that this was the original assessment of the county.

Though the assessments were reduced under William, they were raised again later, for in the 12th century the sheriff accounts for some £205. At 2s. per hide this would represent but 2050 hides against the old 2500, of which only some 35 appear to have been permanently released before the conquest;² but 2050 is 800 hides above the assessment of 1086, and it would seem that, though in many cases³ the T.R.W. reductions were prolonged or new remissions granted, the majority of the old T.R.E. assessments were restored. There is some confirmation of this similar to the evidence in Surrey (p. 7). By the old assessment the lands of Walter Giffard in Domesday contained 36 hides, and Brightwalton 15, reduced before 1065 to 10. The former were rated in 1086 at only $22\frac{1}{4}$ hides and the latter, then held by the Abbey of Battle, "at nothing." In the Pipe Roll of 8 Henry II (p. 44) we find Earl Giffard (of Buckingham) pardoned for 72s and the Abbey of Battle for 20s, which at 2s per hide exactly represent the old ratings of 1065. In the Pipe Roll of 1130 (p. 122) it looks as if the 20s pardoned to the Count of Meulan represented the 10 hides of Eddington, granted to him after 1086 by the king, and the 30s pardoned to the Abbey of Cirencester the 15 hides of Hagbourne which came to it from Rainbald.⁴

It is suggested in the Victoria History that Stratfield (Mortimer) with 6 hides also belonged originally, not to Berkshire where it is surveyed by

combe, Sparsholt, Shrivenham — the entries say only 'ibi sunt *n* hidae,' without any comparison of 1065 and 1086. These hides were clearly the T.R.E. ratings; for 1086 these lands have been tabulated as free (see Hagbourne 61 b 1 and many entries in Hants). If the ratings of 1086 were the same as T.R.E., the result will be as given in square brackets. Professor Maitland, purposely 'counting everything,' has counted these hides for 1086, and probably also 10 or 12 more hides in Blewbury hundred than the $75\frac{1}{4}$ given here.

¹ Godric was the 'antecessor' of Henry de Ferrers; see Chenetberie and Sudtone 57 b, Fivehide 60 b 1-2, and the entry for $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides just before it. At Reading too we have 'G. vicecomes tenuit hanc terram ad hospitium; ideo H. tenet.'

² See notes to the tables. The remission at Pangbourne (61 b 1) seems to have been only temporary.

³ V. H. i. 287, 296.

⁴ V. H. i. 314, 366 note 2.

Domesday, but to Hants where other Stratfields are given with 24 hides.¹ No doubt 6 and 24 make 30, a round figure which looks like the assessment of one original vill divided into several villages, but by the table for Reading hundred the 6 hides of Stratfield Mortimer are wanted in Berkshire to go with Woke or Oakfield. The Stratfields in Berkshire and Hants appear to be a case of distinct villages being named alike after the same object lying between them, here a Roman road which is at this point the county boundary; we have a similar case in the Linfords of Buckinghamshire.² Coleshill in Wifol hundred has 24 hides equally divided in 1065 between three owners, no doubt brothers. In Wiltshire 'three thegns,' clearly from their successors the same men, had held 'in Coleshill' and in equal shares 1 hide which must also have belonged to their father's estate.³ But though 1 and 24 make a round 25, it seems hardly probable that the 1 hide can have belonged to the original vill of Coleshill. It appears much more likely that this hide was originally part of some Wiltshire vill, but having passed to the owner of Coleshill in Berkshire had been attached to his estate there. As this hide belonged to the same owner as the other 24, there was no reason why it should have been dragged out of Berkshire into Wilts, and it is very difficult to believe that the original boundary between the two counties can have shaved off $\frac{1}{25}$ of a large vill. The missing hide wanted to make up the 24 hides of the Berkshire Coleshill to 25 is probably to be found incorporated in the 46 hides of the king's great manor of Shrivenham.

The hidage of the county in 1086 appears likely to have been either 1225 or 1350, according to our treatment of the king's land, but the calculation is difficult. The entries for Wantage and Hagbourne are both a little doubtful.⁴ At all events it is pretty plain that as in Surrey, the assessment of each hundred was a multiple of 5 or at least of $2\frac{1}{2}$. The reductions of assessment between 1065 and 1086 are very puzzling. It would be natural to connect them with loss of value suffered in 1066 and some of the figures agree with this. In Beynhurst hundred, where the values just after the conquest differ very little from those of 1065, the reduction of assessment is very slight. In Bucklebury hundred there is little sign of damage except at Hampstead Norris and that is the only assessment reduced, except Bucklebury which had been affected by the king's forest. The reduction is also comparatively small in the hundred of Marcham, most of which lay outside the line of William's march in 1066. In a large number of entries we have only two instead of three valuations and we cannot be quite certain of the interpretation to be placed on such cases; but on the whole, omitting the king's land, the reduction of assessment is largest in the hundreds of Lambourn, Hilleslau, Wifol and Ganfield, through which the chief Norman column seems to have passed on its way to Wallingford.⁵ Some of the other figures, however, are not easy to reconcile with this explanation. In the hundred of Thatcham for instance there was not much loss of value at the conquest, but there are

¹ V. H. Berks i. 320.

² See below pp. 167, 171.

³ D. B. 72 b 2; the entry is made in a blank space at the foot of the column. V. H. Berks i. 320.

⁴ "Tunc (*interlined et modo*) 4 hidae; nunquam geld." 57 a 1; "Tunc et modo 10 hidae ibi, sed pro 6½ hidis se defend." 61 b 1. These entries

have been taken to mean that the actual ratings had not been reduced under the new system of hidation, but that the geld had been remitted.

⁵ See Appendix A. Hormer is an exceptional hundred, being all held by the Abbey of Abingdon.

large reductions of assessment. The problem, which has been already discussed under Surrey (p. 5), is a difficult one and no clear light is thrown upon it by the Berkshire evidence.

The indications of William's march to Wallingford given by the valuations in Berkshire and other counties are discussed in an appendix. The hundreds most damaged in Berkshire are Hilleslau, Shrivenham and Wifol, but in 1086 the values are again almost or quite as high as in 1065. There are, however, many cases all through the county quite apart from William's march, e.g. in the hundreds of Beynhurst in the east and Marcham in the west, where we find that the values of 1086 are generally somewhat below those of 1065. In the face of the figures for Hilleslau, Shrivenham and Wifol this feature in Beynhurst and Marcham can hardly be due to loss of value at the conquest; indeed there are not a few cases in the county where the values of 1086 are below those of 1067. The feature is not peculiar to Berkshire; it is found in many counties and in some is very common. In the Surrey hundred of Woking, for instance, we have entries in which the successive values run thus; 8, 8, 7; 8, 5, 6; 3, 3, 2; 6, —, 4; 6, —, 5; 8, 8, 5; 20, —, 15½. Now the hundred of Woking was not on the line of William's march, and even if these manors had suffered slight loss of value in 1066, there was no reason why they should not have fully recovered, as was the rule in Surrey even with manors which suffered much damage. Valuations of this character might be due to the natural or deliberate pessimism of the juries. The Englishmen would naturally think that times were not what they had been under Edward, and the Normans that their land had not turned out so well as they hoped, while both parties would be suspicious of the survey and afraid of an increased geld. In Surrey it looks almost as if the villages which had been really damaged in 1066 took by contrast a more cheerful view of their position in 1086 than some of those which had not been touched.

The same pessimism might account for valuations of the type 5, 4, 4 or 12, 10, 10—"times had always been bad since Edward's day"—and to this may be due many of the cases in Berkshire where the value of 1086 is below that of 1065; the Normans do not seem to have passed through either Beynhurst or Marcham in 1066. At the same time there does appear to be a real tendency both in Berkshire and in the midland counties north of the Thames to some depreciation in 1086. There are a great many cases of depreciation, though it is on the whole offset by increase of value in other manors, especially some of those held by the king and the church. The cause of the depreciation, if it was genuine, is not clear; it is possible that the 6s. geld of 1084 may have had something to do with it.

We may end with a few miscellaneous matters. There are several references to Windsor outside its own entry. The castle stood on land which had belonged to Clewer. We learn also that four out of ten hides at Winkfield in Riplesmere and half the woodland of Cookham in Beynhurst, equivalent to a pannage rent of 100 swine, were 'in the forest.' The village of Cookham is separated from Windsor by Bray, Dedworth and Clewer, but its woodland ran far to the south, most likely right up to Winkfield, which in turn adjoined the south-western end of Windsor. It was probably this end which contained that part of the Windsor woodland which we are specially told was 'missa in defensa,' and it looks as if the

four hides at Winkfield and the half woodland of Cookham were put under the same special rule, which seems to have involved the exclusion of swine. Forest rules of a less stringent kind probably extended over much other woodland not only in the east near Windsor, but also in the west, for the half of the county lying west and north of the Kennet was in later times the forest of Berkshire.¹ We find no hint of them in Domesday, except that at Bucklebury one hide held by Walter fitz Other² is said to 'lie in the forest,' but this one hide cannot have been the only land there in the forest, and the entry must imply that the large woodland belonging to the king's manor at Bucklebury was also in some sense 'in the forest.' If this was so in spite of the silence of Domesday, the same is likely to have been true, not only of Bray, Warfield, Waltham and the other royal manors in the east, but also of many private manors both in the same district and in the western part of the county.

At Bechesgate in Kintbury (60 b 1) 2 hides 'did not pay geld because *de firma Regis erant, et ad opus Regis*³ *calumniatæ sunt.*' In Tatcham, Wantage and Hagbourne in Blewbury the descriptions of the geld-assessment are peculiar; they are given in the notes to the table.

Commendation is noticed in f58 a 1; in Wantage hundred 'Tovi's father held (1½ hides) T.R.E. and could go whither he would, but for protection commended himself (*se commisit*) to Bishop Herman, and Tovi in like manner to Bishop Osbern.' This entry suggests that it might be well for commendation to be repeated by the successor of the original commendor; repetition or confirmation by the successor of the grantor was common in those days with every kind of grant. It may have been for want of such repetition that at Linford (59 a 1) the sons of Eliert, though 'they had no right to go away (from the Abbey of Abingdon) without licence, had yet commended themselves to Walter Giffard,' and had apparently thereby forced the Abbey to let Walter hold the land as its tenant, most likely on very favourable terms. We may note, with reference to the compilation of Domesday, that the phrase '*se commisit*' used of Tovi is used also in Surrey (p. 8).

¹ Rev. J. C. Cox, *Royal Forests*, p. 266.

line 51.

² As to Walter fitz Other see p. 24 note D; he also had a forester's land at Woking, D.B. 30 a 1

³ For a like phrase in Surrey see p. 4.

NOTE ON BERKSHIRE

THE CHIEF ESTATES HELD BY KING EDWARD

MANORS	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	VALUE		TEAMS		MEN		
	1065	1086		1065	1086	dem	men	vill	bord	serv
(a) A Blewbury	3	? 3	20	55	65	4	15	24	61	... A
B Bucklebury	2	0	20	11	11	1	20	18	16	1 B
C Kintbury	2	0	10	10	10	2	8	15	16	2 C
D Letcomb	3	[0]	16	55	55	3	13	1	30 ¹	2 D
E Tatcham	2	0	25	20	33	...	25	35	12	... E
	12	3	91	151	174	10	81	93	135	5
(b) F Wantage	9	? 0	24	55	61	5	17	30	40	5 F
G Bray	18	0	30	25	17	3	26	56	7	4 G
H Lambourn	20	[0]	42	50	44	4	25	44	60	6 H
	47	0	96	130	122	12	68	130	107	15
(c) I Reading	43	43	40	40	48	1	55	55	30	... I
K Cholsey	23	3	27	64	94	4	25	22	100	15 K
L 5 others ²	106 ²	[0]	86	107	155	15	75	193	60	9 L
	172	46	153	211	297	20	155	270	190	24

SUMMARY OF LARGER ESTATES

U Edward (a)	12	? 3	91	151	174	10	81	93	135	5 U
V " (b)	47	0	96	130	122	12	68	130	107	15 V
W " (c)	172	46	153	211	297	20	155	270	190	24 W
X { Church ³ and	135 ³	70	101	123	134	17	70	102	94	48 X
Y { Abingdon ⁴	468 ⁴	269	351	338	391	77	235	480	501	101 Y
Z The Rest	1668	825	1317	1595	1443	384	752	1610	1566	600 Z
	2502	1213	2109	2548	2561	520	1361	2685	2593	793

N.B. The figures in line Z are mere balances to make up the county totals, and the whole table is only roughly made as a test for differences, if any, between different kinds of ownership. Except in the assessment of the royal estates there does not seem to be any wide difference.

¹ Also 18 burs.

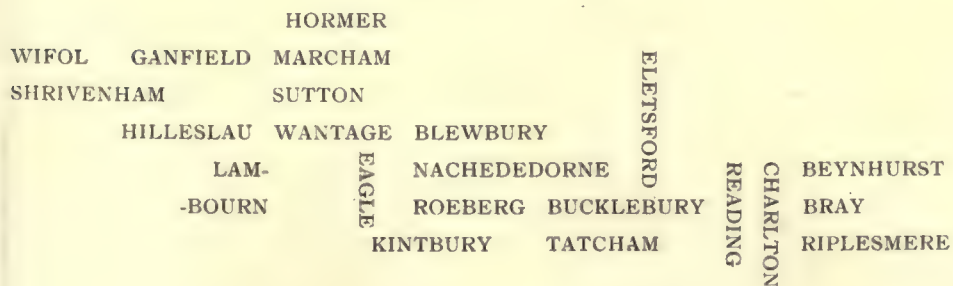
² Shalbourn 6½, Sparsholt 10, Windsor 20, Shrivenham 46, Sutton 23.

³ Woolstone, Harwell, Brightwell, Sonning, Ashbury.

⁴ This line includes the larger estates held by the abbey in the western hundreds; it does not include the lands in Ripplesmere and Charlton hundreds.

SUMMARY OF THE HUNDREDS

HUNDREDS	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	VALUES		TEAMS		MEN		
	1065	1086		1065	1086	dem	men	vill	bord	serv
Bray and										
A Beynhurst	93 ³	46 ³	130	131	111	24	109	228	67 ¹	30 A
B Riplesmere	60	27	[50]	53	37	8	40	89	12	1 B
C Charlton	145	45	141	143	118	17	117	165	69	33 C
D Reading	153	110	221	188	173	29	165	245	200	47 D
E Hesletsford	117	44	91	160	171	29	64	106	165 ²	50 E
F Blewbury	127	79	103	185	208	27	75	164	154 ²	56 F
G Nachededorne	103	60	88	101	85	26	38	75	101	37 G
H Bucklebury	47	30	[60]	48	48	13	47	60	50	34 H
I Tatcham	74	33	103	87	111	17	74	117	100	29 I
K Roeberg	128	66	95	92	80	25	71	107	135	26 K
L Kintbury	133	74	102	120	114	36	70	121	186	76 L
M Eagle	96	51	74	132	131	23	41	74	90	38 M
N Lambourn	73	19	75	94	74	15	39	73	103	18 N
O Wantage	239	133	146	251	264	47	59	174	318 ²	53 O
P Hilleslau	140	61	77	113	127	25	34	75	125	42 P
Q Shrivenham	71	12	49	54	68	11	40	102	52	8 Q
R Wifol	144	24	68	91	99	25	33	85	77	47 R
S Ganfield	185	69	100	160	134	31	52	119	125 ¹	76 S
T Marcham	141	110	107	102	98	40	56	147	131	42 T
V Sutton	123	49	104	150	181	25	65	200	166	30 V
W Horner	110	70	125	93	131	27	72	159	167	20 W
	2502	1213	2109	2548	2561	520	1361	2685	2593	793
Other counts ⁴	2502		2087	2384	2378		1796	2623	2577	792

¹ These include cotters.³ Fractions have been rounded off.² These are cotters only.⁴ Maitland, *D.B. and B.* p. 400, Pearson and Ellis.*Diagram of the hundreds*

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Dem. 3 <i>knights -hid.</i> ... <i>ch. (Rainbald) 1 hid.</i>	A King Edward A
b Alwin f. Cheping K's	thegn	b Tovi b
B The King	Demesne <i>Reinbald priest 1½ hid.</i> <i>2 clerics ½ hid.</i>	B King Edward B
C do.	Demesne	C Queen Eddid C
b Bp. of Durham... .. <i>in alms.</i>	Demesne	b Ulwin canon of Walt- ham of Earl Harold
c Ab. of Chertsey ...	Demesne	c Abbey of Chertsey ... c
D Alward goldsmith K's	thegn	D A's father from Q. Eddid D
E Hen. d. Ferrers ...	Demesne	E Bondi E
F Gilo br. Ansculf ...	Hugh ; Landri	F Siward F
G Geoff. d. Mandeville	Demesne	G Esgar G

BLITBERIE (BLEWBURY)

H The King	Dem. <i>Will. Belfou with</i> <i>the church 1½ hid.</i>	H King Edward H <i>Alvric held the 1½ hid.</i>
b C. of Evreux	Demesne	b Brictuard b
I The King	Demesne	I Lanc's wife... .. I
b C. of Mortain	Abbey des Preaux ...	b Anschil b
c Rainbald of Ciren-	cester... ..	c Eileva a freewoman ... c
K Bp. of Winchester ...	Demesne	K Bishop Stigand K
b Roger d'Ivri	Demesne	b Ulvric a freeman ... b
c do. <i>of Earl</i>	<i>William's fee</i>	c Achi a freeman c
L Hen. d. Ferrers ...	Nigel	L Turchil a freeman ... L
M Will. f. Corbucion ...	Ralf	M a freeman M
b Will. Lovet	Demesne	b Toti of King Edward... b
c Humfrey Visdelew ...	Demesne	c Osmund a freeman ... c
N Turstin f. Rolf	Demesne	N Brictric a freeman ... N
O Walt. f. Other	Dem. <i>Robert 1 hid.</i> ...	O Alwin a freeman... .. O
b Rainbald of Ciren-	cester... ..	b the same Rainbald ... b
P Ralf f. Sifrid	Demesne	P Lodric a freeman ... P

A Is Bray hundred; has bordars.**B** 'Post 25 s' (?); 1086 returned 45 *l*; the other half wood in Windsor forest.**C** Returned 15 *l*. **Cc.** An 'æcclesiola.'**E** Had 12 arpents of vines.**Ic** 'Ibi 10 hid.' but paid T.R.E. as 6½.**K** In Wallingford 3 closes of 15 *d*.**Kb** A 'capella.'**M** In Wallingford 5 closes of 50 *d*.**Mb** Returned 7 *l*.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	cott	serv
...	60	50	A Bray ⁿ †	18	non	[30]	25	18	17	3	25	56	7B	4 A
...	...	...	<i>Brai</i>							1				
...	...	...	b Bras †	20	2	1	3	...	1½	1	1	10	...	...
22½	100	50	B Cookham †	20	20	nq	25	50	2½ ⁿ	36 ⁿ	...	20	32	21
		15	<i>Cocheham 2 fish 13½s</i>						2½	1	...	...	8	...
		8							¼	2	...	...	2	...
...	150	...	C Waltham	8	0	16	12	12	10 ⁿ	2	15	32	4	4 C
...	6	3	b Waltham	3	3	6	3	3½	5	2	4	8	3	3 b
...	5	9	c do. † ⁿ	10	10	12	8	...	6	2	10	18	...	1 c
...	...	7	D Shottesbrook †	28	7	7	8	7	...	6	2	10	24	2
...	...		<i>Sotesbroc</i>											
...	...	26	E Bisham ⁿ †	8	8	10	8	...	12	2	8	17	2	2 E
...	...		<i>Bisteham</i>											
...	10	16	F Maidenhead	3	3	4	3	...	2	...	1	6	4	...
...	...		<i>Elentone</i>											
20	5	20	G Hurley †	24¾	13¾	13¾	18	12	12	12	4	15	25	12
...	...		<i>Herlei 2 fish. 12s</i>											
				92¾	45¾	130	131	111	24	109	228	67	30	

(BLEWBURY NOW IN MORETON, READING)

37½	...	16	H Blewbury †	3	?	3	20	50	50	60	4	15	24	58	...
		10	<i>Blitberie</i>					5	5	5	...	...	...	3	...
4	...	10	b do.	5	2	¼	1	2	...	1	...	...	...	4	...
...	...	60	I Aston Tirrold	15	5	7	15	12	9	1	7	14	...	3	I
...	...	...	b Estone †	5	2	2	3	3	3	1	...	3	3	6	b
...	...	41	c do. Upthorpe ...	10 ⁿ	6½	7	10	...	12	2	5	10	12	3	c
2½	...	45	K Harwell ⁿ	15	10	8	12	12	16	2	6	18	5	4	K
...	...	...	b Har(o)welle † ⁿ ...	6	3	5	12	...	15	2	2	7	7	2	b
...	...	...	c do.	5	2½	4	5	...	6	1	1	5	5	3	c
...	...	40	L Didcot ? v.p.39	34	8	4¼	6	6	...	9	2	8	10	2	
...	...		<i>Wibalditone</i>												
12½	...	...	M Moreton ⁿ	10	10	7	10	...	12	2	6	14	8	3	M
12½	...	40	b Mortune	5	2½	4	6	6	6 ⁿ	1	1½	3	4	...	b
...	...	40	c do. †	5	2½	3	6	6	6	2	1	4	4	6	c
...	...	30	N Upton Optone ...	10	5	9	13	13	13	2	6	16	7	7	N
12	...	28	O Hagborne	10 ⁿ	?	10	6	13	13	13	2	6	14	11	
12½	...	30	b Hacheborne	15 ⁿ	11¾	12	15	...	18	2	10	18	16	6	b
...	...	30	P Fulscot (Moreton)	3	1	2	2	...	4	1	1	4	5	...	
...	...		<i>Follescote</i>												
				127	79¼	103	185	208	27	75	164	154	56		

O. Tunc et modo 10 hidæ ibi,
sed pro 6½ se defend.

Ob. Ibi 15 hidæ, sed tunc et
modo se defend. pro 11¾.

Blitberie

L
K OPM
N
H I

Beners

B
GE F
A
DC

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Demesne <i>the church $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.</i>	A King Edward A
b Walt. f. Other	a man... ..	b Alvila Dese b
c Hugolin steersman	<i>attached to Hampstead</i>	c c
d C. of Evreux	Demesne	d Lewin d
B do.	Demesne	B 4 freemen B
C Will. f. Ansculf... ..	Gilbert	C Edric alod C
D do.	Godebold	D Baldwin alod D
E Theodric goldsmith... ..	Demesne <i>the church $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.</i>	E Lanc E
F Hen. d. Ferrers	Roger... ..	F 2 freemen F
b Gilb. d. Bretville	William	b Eluin b
c Roger d'Ivri	<i>with Harwellⁿ</i>	c Savin <i>with Hendred</i> c

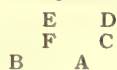
CHERLEDONE (NOW IN CHARLTON, SONNING &c.)

A Bp. of Salisbury	Demesne	A Bp. of Salisbury A
B Ab. of Abingdon	Demesne	B Ab. of Abingdon... .. B
C The King	Demesne	C Queen Eddid C
D do.	do.	D Queen Eddid D
E do.	do.	E Earl Harold... .. E
F do.	do.	F Sexi alod F
G do.	do.	G Sexi alod G
b Steph. f. Eirard... ..	Alvric... ..	b 3 alodiaries G b
H The King	Demesne	H Aelmer... .. H
I do.	do.	I Almar alod I
b Osbern Giffard	Demesne	b Don alod b

BORCHELDEBERIE

A. Returned 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ l.**Ab.** 'In the forest' in 1086.**Fc.** 'Roger put it in his manor of Harwell, where it never lay, *nec unquam geldavit*.'

Diagram



(BUCKLEBURY NOW FAIRCROSS, READING) BERKSHIRE 55

Mills shill	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
...	100	11	A Bucklebury † <i>Borchedeberie</i>	2	non	...	11	11	11 ⁿ	1	20	18	16	1 A
...	...	...	b <i>Borcheldeberie</i>	1	nq ⁿ	...	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	1	...	...	...	b
...	...	...	c <i>in do.</i>	$\frac{1}{4}$	nq	...	$[\frac{1}{2}]$	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	c
4	...	...	d <i>Borgedeberie</i>	4	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	4	4	4	2	2	3	4	8 d
...	...	4	B [? Westrop]... <i>Crochestrope</i>	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	1	3	...	B
12	...	...	C Stanford Dingley <i>Stanworde v.p.43</i>	5	5	4	4	4	4	2	3	8	2	3 C
5	f	5	D Yattendon <i>v.p.43</i> <i>Elingdene</i>	8	8	...	7	...	8	2	3	4	6	9 D
...	40	4	E Hampstead † <i>Hamstede</i>	25	17	6	12	9	10	2	8	13	9	8 E
4	10	10	F Frilsham <i>Frilescham</i>	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	6	6	6	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	11	3 F
...	...	...	b Well Ho. Wille	1	1	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	2	1	2	2	2 b
...	30	...	c Eling in Elinge	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	?	[1]	...	1	...	2	4	...	c
				47	30		48		48	13	47	60	50	34

CHERLEDONE (NOW IN CHARLTON, SONNING &c.)

212 $\frac{1}{2}$	300	40	A Sonning ⁿ <i>v.p.46</i> <i>Soninges</i>	60 ⁿ	24	46	50	40	40	5	41	40	16	10 A
5 ⁿ	50	10	B Whistley ⁿ <i>Wiselei</i>	10	7	12	10	...	6	...	9	16	1	... B
9 $\frac{1}{8}$	100	16	C Wargrave ⁿ <i>Wergrave</i>	33	0	29	31	27 $\frac{1}{3}$	27 $\frac{1}{3}$	2	25	41	14	6 C
20 ⁿ	f	52	D Remenham <i>Rameham</i>	45	12	4	[8]	15	10	10	2	6	20	4 D
7 $\frac{1}{2}$	200	4	E Finchampstead ⁿ <i>Finchamestede</i>	5	0 ⁿ	15	8	8	8	1	14	16	8	6 E
5 ⁿ	90	16	F Shinfeild ⁿ <i>Selingefelle</i>	5	0	6	7	...	8	1	7	8	5	2 F
4 $\frac{1}{6}$	20	12	G Swallowfield ⁿ <i>Soanesfelt</i>	[6]	?	7	7	7	8 $\frac{1}{10}$	2	5	8	8	2 G
...	...	...	b <i>in Solafel v.p.43</i>	1	1	2	1	1	1	...	2	...	1	... b
...	40	5	H Barkham <i>Bercheham</i>	3	3	3	4	3	3	1	3	5	4	... H
...	70	20	I Earley <i>Herlei</i>	5	4	6	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	6	1	2 I
...	30	20	b <i>do.</i>	5	2	7	5	3	4	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	7	1 b
				145	45	141	143		118	17	117	165	69	33

Fisheries

- A.** Five 30s. **B.** 300 eels.
C. From three 3000 eels.
F. Five. **G.** Five 40d.
I. Two 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ s. **Id.** Two 68d.
Eels from Mills
B. 250; **D.** 1000; **F.** 150.

CHERLEDONE

- A.** 'Of the appurtenancies of this manor Aubrey de Coci held 20 hides in Hildeslei which rightly belong to this manor.'
E. 'Renders ferm in Reading.'
I. A close in Reading.

Diagram

D
C
A
I B
F H
G E

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Ab. of Amesbury ...	Demesne	A Ab. of Amesbury ... A
b The King	Dem. <i>Hen. d. Fer. 43 a.</i>	b King Edward b
c Walt. f. Other <i>given from K. E.'s farm to his</i>		c antecessor c
d Ralf d. Felgers... ..	f. 63, b. 2	d attached to-Inkpen ... d
B The King	Demesne	B Azor alod B
C do.	Demesne	C King Edward C
D Hen. d. Ferrers ...	Demesne	D Godric [sheriff] M ... D
E Ab. of Abingdon ...	Hezelin	E Blocheman 'in feudo' E
F C. of Evreux	Demesne	F Brictuard M F
G Will. de Ow	Demesne	G Alward alod G
b do. <i>attached to Denfordⁿ</i> ...		b 2 freemen, not in manor b
H Ab. of Abingdon ...	Walter d. Rivere ...	H Edid G H
b Wigar, King's thegn ...		b Ormar alod... .. b
c Humfrey Visdelew ...	Dem. <i>William 2 hid.</i>	c 3 thegns alod c
	<i>Anschilil 2 hid.</i>	
I Will. f. Ansculf ...	Demesne	I 2 freemen MM alod... I
K Will. Lovet	Demesne	K Toti alod M K
b Ghilo br. Ansculf ...	Demesne	b Saulf alod M b
c Will. f. Corbucion ...	Demesne	c Tovi alod M c
d Roger d. Laci	Demesne	d Edmund alod d
L Humfrey Visdelew ...	Demesne	L 3 brothers alod L
	<i>Alvric 1, Almer 2 hid.</i>	
b Geoff. d. Mandeville...	Saswalo	b Ordulf alod... .. b
M do.	Saswalo	M Ordulf alod... .. M
N Hugolin, steersman...	Demesne	N Edward alod N
b do. <i>title doubtful</i>		b Herleng M b
O Rich. Pugniant... ..	Demesne	O Gumere O
P Rob. f. Girold	Demesne	P 2 freemen MM P
b Rob. f. Rolf, a King's	thegn	b 2 thegns MM b
c William, King's thegn	Polecehard	c c
d Alvred, King's thegn	... ..	d d
e Godebold, a King's	thegn	e e

D. Taken from Shallbourn by Godric, viz. '1 h. de reveland, & 1 h. villanorum, ½ h. de firma Regis' (57 b 1), but the entry on f 60 b 1 gives only 2 hides. Another hide of Shallbourn was probably annexed by A.

Gb. Probably in Leverton. **P, Pb** Parva silva.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
4	10	60	A Kintbury	11	8	10	12	...	11	4	8	12	18	11 A
232½	3	40	b Chenetberie	2	[0]	10	10	10	10	2	8	15	16	2 b
...	...	...	c in do.?	...	½	0	...	...	¼	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	d in hundred ...	16	2½	2½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15	10	34	B Eddington	10	10	178	6	6	5	3½	1	2	6	2 1 B
			<i>Eddevelone</i>											
10	f	8	C Shalbourn v.p.46	6½	[0]	10	12	12	20	3	6	14	13	3 C
			<i>Eseldeborne</i>											
11	f	8	D Bagshot	8½	2 ⁿ	0	4	1½	...	2	...	4	9	10 3 D
			<i>Bechesgete</i>											
10	2	...	E Leverton	6½	4½	4	3	...	2½	1	2	4	3	2 E
			<i>Lewartone</i>											
4	f	5	F Calcot	3	1	2	1½	...	1	1	1	3	4	...
			<i>Colecote</i>											
...	...	...	G Denford	10	5	[4]	5	...	4	1	2½	4	4	3 G
...	...	...	b with Daneford	20	1 ⁿ	2½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	20	H in Benham v.p.44	2	2	1	1½	1½	1½	...	...	...	5	...
...	...	60	b in Benneham...	2	½	1	2	2	2	1	...	...	2	...
...	...	120	c Benham	9	5	4	3	6	6	6	1	5	6	8 2 c
										2				
121½	f	16	I Inkpen	5	5	2½	[10]	14	12	12	4	7	10	15 20 I
			<i>Hingepene</i>											
...	f	13	K Enborne	3¼	3¼	2	2	...	1½	...	2	2	7	...
...	...	13	b Aneborne	3½	1	2	2	...	1	½	2	2	2	...
20	10	20	c in Taneburne...	10	8	3	5	...	4	1	2	4	7	2 c
...	1	13	d in do.	20	3¼	1	2	2	...	2½	...	3	6	8 ...
27½	...	6	L Boxford—	9	4	2	8	8	6½	1	1	1	6	1 L
			<i>Bochesorne</i>							1				
...	f	7	b [in] Ilsley	10	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	7	3 b
			<i>Hildeslei v.p.44</i>											
...	...	...	M Ilsley v.p.44 ...	10	10	10	6	8	5	6	2	3	7	12 4 M
			<i>Hildeslei</i>											
20	10	6	N Hampstead Mar. ...	4	1	5	4	4	4	2	3	4	8	10 N
			<i>Hamestede</i>											
30	f	3	b Ebrige	5	1	1	2	4	...	3	...	3	4	4 3 b
10	10	20	O Avington v.p.43	10	10	2	[6]	5	5	5	3	3	6	7 4 O
			<i>Avintone</i>											
...	...	4	P Inglewood	3	3	[2]	1½	...	1	1	1	...	7	1 P
			<i>Inglefol</i>											
...	...	4	b Incheftot v.p.43	...	3	3	[2]	1½	1	1	1	1	7	1 b
...	...	...	c Ingleftot ... ..	...	1	1?	...	...	30	...	...	...	1	...
...	...	...	d do. ... ..	...	1	1?	[1]	[1]	34	1	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	e in hundred ...	9½	1½	1½	...	...	½	...	...	...	3	...
				133	74½	102	120		114	36	70	121	186	76

Diagram.



TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Demesne	A King Edward A
b Ab. of Amesbury ...	Demesne	b [Ab. of Amesbury] ... b
B do.	Demesne	B do. B
C The King	Dem. the church $\frac{1}{4}$ hid.	C King Edward C
b Rob. d'Oily	Demesne	b Wigot b
D do.	Demesne	D Edward alod M ... D
b St. Peter's Winton	<i>had been given</i>	b 2 freemen MM of Css b
<i>by Oda d. Winton to</i>	<i>Hugh d. Port's steward</i>	<i>Gida & her son Guert</i>
E Will. Pevrel	Demesne	E Earl Ralf E
F Hugh d. Port	Demesne	F Ulveva alod... .. F
b Aiulf, sheriff	Demesne	b Brictric alod b
c Rob. d'Oily <i>of the Bp. of Bayeux' fee</i>		c Bristei alod G c
d Rog. d'Ivri <i>of the Bp. of Bayeux' fee</i>		d Bricstec alod M ... d
G Geoff. d. Mandeville	Demesne	G Seward alod G

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
...	...	3	A Fawley Falleslei	1	2 1	3	2	2	2	2	...	...	6	... A
...	...	20	b Farellei	10	5	5	6	6	6	2	3	8	...	4 b
...	...	40	B Challow ⁿ v.p.45 ... Ceveslane (?ue)	7	3½	5	7	7	7	2	2	10	8	2 B
580	...	225	C Letcombe Reg. ⁿ † Ledencumbe	3	[0]	16	55	55	55 ⁿ	3	13	1	30	2 C
260	...	36	b do. Basset Ledecumbe	20	10	7	15	15	16	2	5	bu- 14	8	4 b
...	10	1	D Chaddleworth Cedeledorde	4	4	2	3	1½	2	1	½	2	2	3 D
...	20	2	b Cedeneorde ...	20	16	10	14	10	12	1	4	5	5	6 b
...	...	...	E Wolley Olvelei	10	10	3½	6	10	...	6	2	4	10	8 4 E
10	30	6	F Shefford (West) Siford	20	7²	10	6	...	12	3	6	15	8	6 F
222½	10	8	b do. (East)	10	5	5	10	9	10	2	3	8	5	5 b
8	f	1	c in do.	1½	1½	[1]	1½	...	1	1	...	...	4	2 c
1½	7½	...	d in do.	1½	1½	1	1½	...	1	1	...	1	3	... d
...	...	...	G Whatcombe ... Watecumbe	35	2	2	3	1½	...	1	1	½	...	3 ... G
				96	51	74	132		131	23	41	74	90	38

BC. Perhaps once in the hundred of Wantage.
C. Rendered 60l.; 30 bordars, 18 burs, 2 servi.
Fd. Parva silva.

B
C
A
G E
D
F

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Demesne <i>Alsi 2 hid.</i>	A Harold. <i>Alviet 2 hid....</i> <i>Alsi ' 2 hid. villanorum '</i>
B C. of Evreux	Demesne	B Ullwin... ..
b do.	do.	b 4 freemen
c Bp. Osbern (Exeter) <i>title doubtful,</i>	Demesne <i>referred to the King</i>	c Ulvric Chenp
d Ab. of Abingdon	Demesne	d Aelmar... ..
C do.	do.	C Ab. of Abingdon
D do.	do. <i>Gilb. 2, Wimund 1 hid.</i>	D do.
b do.	Warin	b Ulwin of the Abbey
E do.	Demesne	E Ab. of Abingdon
F do.	Gilbert	F Alvred of the Abbey
b Roger d'Ivri <i>of the Bp. of Bayeux's fee</i>	Demesne	b Alvric a freeman
c St Peter's Dive	Demesne	c 2 alodiaries G
d Hen. d. Ferrers	Henry [? dapifer]	d Domniz G
G do.	Demesne <i>Henry dapifer-hid.</i>	G Siward... ..
H Alsi d. Faringdon, a	King's thegn	H Harold
I Odo d. Winchester, a	King's thegn	I Ulwen G
b do.	do.	b 2 thegns 2 halls G
K do.	do.	K Alwi G
L Gilb. d. Bretville	Pagan	L Alvric G
M do.	Pagan	M 2 brothers in parage G 2 halls
N Eddid in (King's) alms ... ..	... ..	N Eddid G
b Eldit in (King's) alms ... ..	... ..	b Eldit

Fisheries

A. 10 s. **Bc.** Four 20½ s
Bd. Half 3 s. **C.** 2 s.
I. Two 20 s. **K.** 25 s. 2 d.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
12 ¹ / ₂	...	285	A Littleworth ⁿ ...	31	0	16	30	20	25 ¹ / ₂	3	12	32	13	14 A
		54	Ordia							1	...	...	2	1
...	...	7	B Buckland, <i>no</i> ...	1 ³ / ₄	0	...	1 ¹ / ₂	...	3 ⁴ / ₅	...	...	...	4*	B
...	...	12	b names, see V.H. ...	2 ² / ₄	1 ¹ / ₄	...	1 ⁷ / ₈	...	1 ¹ / ₁₀	...	...	1	4*	b
12 ¹ / ₂	...	220	c Bocheland ⁿ † ...	15 ¹ / ₂	8	6	16	12	8	0	4	9	7*	7 c
...	...	15	d do. ⁿ 59 b 1 v.p. 43 24†	5	5	2	5	2	3	1	1	4	1*	1 d
...	...	100	C Longworth ⁿ † ...	30	8	8	15	15	15	3	6	8	14*	8 C
			Ordam											
2 ¹ / ₂	...	104	D Shellingford ⁿ ...	12	2 ¹ / ₄	9	12	12	9	3	4	13	1*	6 D
			Springeforde						3	1 ¹ / ₂	...	...	...	1
...	...	16	b in hundred ...	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1	3 ³ / ₅	3 ³ / ₅	3 ³ / ₅	...	...	...	2*	1 b
...	E Charney ...	2 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	5	6	6	6	2	5	...	13*	4 E
			Cernei											
...	F Pusey † ...	2	2	3	4	...	3	2	...	...	1*	2 F
			Pesci											
...	...	5	b do. ...	6	6	5	4	4	4	2	1	4	4*	4 b
...	c Peise ...	2 ¹ / ₂	0	[1]	1 ⁵ / ₈	1 ⁵ / ₈	1 ⁵ / ₈	...	1	2	...	c
...	d do. v.p. 40, 43	13 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	2	2	1	1 ¹ / ₂	1	...	...	4	d
2 ² / ₃	...	318	G Stanford v.p. 40, 43 ...	40 ⁿ	6	20	30	24	20 ¹ / ₂	3	9	21	22	7 G
			Stanford							1 ¹ / ₂			1	
...	H Lierecole ? ...	5	2	4	4	...	5	1	2	5	5	5 H
...	...	40	I Hinton Wald. ⁿ † ...	10	7 ¹ / ₂	8	11	5	9	3	5	13	8	8 I
...	...	12	b in Hentone	3	3	1 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	...	1 ¹ / ₂	...	...	3	...	b
5	...	16	K Duxford ⁿ ...	3	3	2	4	4	4	1	1 ¹ / ₂	1	4	2 K
			Dochesforde											
...	...	13	L Newton v.p. 44	5	2	1	[1]	...	1 ¹ / ₂	1	...	...	4	2 L
			Newetone											
...	...	100	M Hatford † v.p. 44	10	10	6	8	5	10	2	2	3	11	3 M
			Hevaforde											
...	N in hundred ...	1 ¹ / ₄	0	...	...	...	2 ¹ / ₁₀	...	...	...	...	N
...	b do. ...	1 ¹ / ₄	0	...	1 ¹ / ₈	...	1 ¹ / ₁₀	...	...	...	...	b
				185	69	100	160	...	134	31	52	119	125	76

* **B C D E F** have cotters, the rest bordars.

Bc A wick of 10 weys of cheese worth 32¹/₂ s.
D From other meadow 12 s. 6 d; from a
‘custom’ of cheeses 4 l. 16 s. 8 d.
G R.E. condonavit pro 30 hidis.

K C
A B L I
M F
D G E

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
X The King		
A do.	Demesne 11 hid. (<i>the church 1 hid.</i>) <i>Rich. Pugniant 8 hid.</i> <i>Gilbert 1½ hid.</i> <i>Hervey 3¼ hid.</i>	A King Edward A 10 freemen 12½ hid. who could not withdraw thence
B do.	Demesne; <i>the ch. 1 hid.</i> <i>part of Earl Roger's fee</i>	B Aileva a freewoman B
C Bp. of Winchester	Demesne	C Bishop Stigand C
D St. Peter's Winton	Hugh d. Port de Ab. in feudo; <i>f. t. 1 hid.</i>	D de victu monachorum D
E Miles Crispin	Demesne	E Ulnod a freeman E
b do.	Dem. <i>Harold ⅔ hid.</i>	b Safford a freeman b
F Geoff. d. Mandeville	Dem. <i>Wibert the priest</i> <i>the church and 1 hid.</i>	F Esgar of K. Edward... .. F
G Rich. Pugniant... ..	Demesne	G Elmar a freeman G in the farm of Cholsey

HILLES LAU *see p. 66*

HORNIMERE (HORMER)

P Ab. of Abingdon	Demesne	P Ab. of Abingdon P
b do.	<i>Anschil</i>	b Norman M L b
c do.	<i>Hubert</i>	c a thegn L c
d do.	<i>Osbern</i>	d 2 alodiarii d
e do.	<i>Rainald</i>	e e
Q Ab. of Abingdon	Demesne	Q Ab. of Abingdon Q
b do.	<i>Rainald in pledge</i>	b Ednod staller; given to Abbey by Earl Hugh
c do.	<i>Rainald</i>	c Ailward priest and Lewin goldsmith LL
d do.	<i>Hugh, cook</i>	d Lewin and Norman LL
e do.	<i>Anschil, Gilbert</i>	e Ulvric L e
f do.	<i>Warin</i>	f 6 Englishmen L f
	<i>Bernes</i>	
	<i>Alwin</i>	

A. From another church and tithe 4l.
The 3¼ hides should probably
be 3 hid. less 1 virg.

B. In Wallingford 3 closes of 9d.

C. From pleas of land in Walling-
ford 25s.

D. In Wallingford 8 closes of 14½s.

F. In Oxford 1 close of 10d.

C D EX

A

G

F

B

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead a	MODERN NAMES		HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN								
			DOMESDAY NAMES		1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	cott	serv						
62	...	100	X Wallingford ...	...	2	2	27	64	64	47 3	4 1	16 ...	17 ...	71 4	6	X A				
		A Cholsey †† 23 h. viz	11	0	}	17 $\frac{3}{4}$											2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	14	2
		Celsea	78	3																	
			1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$																	
		7	25 $\frac{3}{4}$	0																	
15	120	30	B Basildon †† ...	...	20	6	20	25	20	25	5	14	28	15	13	B				
			Basledene					2	2	2	2										
20	...	...	C Brightwell †	...	20	10	16	20	20	25	4	9	17	16	15	C			
			Bristowelle																		
15	...	30	D Sotwell †	...	10	10	5	8	8	12	2	3	9	9	...	D					
			Sotwelle								1			3							
26	...	25	E Clapcott (in X)	...	7	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	7	4	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	7	2	...	E					
...	...	25	b Clopecote	...	14	7	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	7	4	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	2	6	...	b				
22	...	22	F Streatley † 2 fish	11s	25	10	15	20	20	24	3	12	18	10	7	F					
		4	Estraillei					2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	1	...				
...	...	12	G Lollingdon	...	3	0	2	5	2	3	1	1	3	3	...	G					
			Lolindone																		
					117 $\frac{1}{2}$	43 $\frac{3}{4}$	91	160		171	29	64	106	165	50						

HILLES LAU *see* p. 67

HORNIMERE (HORMER)

HORNIMERE (HORMER)													vill	bor	serv
250	...	200	P Cumnor † fish 40s	50	30	50	30	50	50	9	26	60	69	4	P
			<i>Comenore</i>												
...	...		b Seacourt ...	(5)	...	7	5	3½	8	2	5	12	15	...	b
			<i>Seavcoorde</i>												
...	...	64	c Wytham ⁿ ...	(5 ⁿ)	...	2	2½	2½	4	1½	?	4	11	...	c
			<i>in Wintcham</i>												
...	...		d in Cumnor ...	(2½)	...	2	3	...	2	1	...	1	3	...	d
...	...		e in do. ...	(1)	...	1	1	...	½	...	...	...	...	...	e
240 ⁿ	...	200	Q Barton ⁿ † fish 18½s	60	40	40	20	40	40	3	34	64	36	2	Q
			<i>Bertune</i>							<i>co</i>	<i>lib</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>li</i>	24	
...	...	20	b Shippon M ...	(5)	(1)	[3]	...	...	...	2	1	2	5	4	b
			<i>Sipene</i>												
...	...		c [in Barton] fish 5d	(3)	(3)	4	7	5	6	1	...	...	1	...	c
...	...	6	d in Bertune and	(1½)	(1½)	2	[2]	...	2	1½	...	...	1	...	d
...	...		<i>in San[d]ford</i>	(2)	(2)										
...	...	60	e Bayworde ...	(10)	(8)	8	10	...	8	3	4½	9	8	5	e
			<i>in Baiorde</i>												
...	...	110	f in Sugworth Sogoorde	(4)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f
...	...		<i>in So(u)nnigewell</i>	(5)	...	6	12	...	10	3	1	7	18	5	
...	...		<i>and Chenitun</i> ...	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...		<i>Kennington</i> ...												
...	...		<i>in Genitune</i>												
				110	70	125	93	...	131	27	72	159	167	20	

Pc. "Of the villeins land there were 4(hides), and these paid geld with the other hides of the manor [Cunnor]; the [fifth] hide of the thegn (i.e. the undertenant's demesne) was

free, but he could not go whither he would.' Q. Ten merchants living outside the gate render 40d. Five fisheries of 18½s; two mills 'in curia Abbatis sine censu.'

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Demesne <i>church 1 hid.</i>	A King Edward A
b Geoff. d. Mandeville...	Demesne	b Esgar b
c Hascoit Musard... ..	Demesne	c Bristec alod c
d Mathiu d. Mortain ...	Demesne	d Ulward alod, M d
B Ralf f. Count	Demesne <i>Odo 1 hid.</i>	B 3 freemen alod MMM B
b Edward, King's thegn ...	... ..	b Anschil alod b

MERCEHAM (MARCHAM NOW IN OCK)

A Ab. of Abingdon ...	Demesne <i>Anschil 1 hid.</i>	A Ab. of Abingdon ... A <i>Alwin 1 hide</i>
B do. ...	Demesne <i>Renbald 1,</i> <i>Rainald 4, Salvi 1 hid.</i>	B Ab. of Abingdon... .. B <i>5 thegns L</i>
C do. ...	Rainald	C Norman & Alvric... .. C
b do. ...	Rainald	b Norman of the Abbey... b
c do. ...	William	c Norman of the Abbey... c
D do. ...	Demesne <i>8 hid.</i> <i>Berner 2 hid.</i>	D Ab. of Abingdon... .. D
E do. ...	Demesne <i>Ulwi 3, Nicolas 1 hid.</i>	E Ab. of Abingdon... .. E <i>Edwin a priest 1 hid. L</i>
F do. ...	Demesne <i>Hermer 7 hid.</i>	F de victu monachorum F
G do. ...	Walter Giffard	G Sons of Eliert of Ab. <i>Lⁿ</i> G
b do. ...	Rainald	b Linbald monk from Ab. b
H do. ...	Demesne <i>Gilb. 1 hid.</i> <i>an Englishman. ½ hid.</i>	H Ab. of Abingdon... .. H
I Will. f. Ansculf... ..	Adelelm	I Turchil G I
b Hen. d. Ferrers... ..	Ralf	b Stanchil b
K do.	(another) Henry	K Godric sheriff of Ab. <i>L</i> K
b do.	Demesne	b Godric b
L Berner, neph. of R. d. Perone <i>Of the Bp. of Bayeux's fee</i>	... ..	L Alwin L
b Miles Crispin	Richard	b Halden... .. b
M do.	Richard	M Halden... .. M
b do.	Alvred	b Bosi b

For Gilbert de Breville's land in Hatford and Newton see Ganfield hundred.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
220	10	...	A Lambourn † <i>Lamborne</i>	20	[0]	42	49	34	44	4	25	44	60	6 A
215	40	5	b [Eas(t) Garston V.H.] <i>Lamborne</i>	30	10	20	20	12	12	4	10	23	12	3 b
...	...	...	c <i>Lanborne</i>	8	2½	5	12	...	6	2	2½	4	6	8 c
...	...	...	d <i>do.</i>	4	4	2	3	1½	2½	½	1	2	8	... d
5	10	5	B Bockhampton <i>Bochenlone</i>	8	2¾	4	7	6	7	2	½	...	11	1 B
...	...	...	b <i>do.</i>	3	½	2	3	...	2	1	...	...	5	... b
				73	19½	75	94		74	15	39	73	103	18

MERCEHAM (MARCHAM NOW IN OCK)

15	...	100	A Marcham † <i>Merceham</i>	20	10	10	12½	...	12½	3	10	18	10	6 A
...	...	40	B Frilford <i>Frieliford</i>	10	10	4	2	2	2	4	2	8	...	... B
...	...	15	C <i>in Tubney Tobenie</i>	1	1	6	2	2	4	0	6	2	16	2 C
...	...	2	b 59 b 1 v.p.43	2	2	1	2	...	1½	...	...	...	2	... b
...	...	...	c [? Oakley] <i>Leie</i>	14	1	1	5	2	4	2	3	...	12	... c
7½	...	30	D Garford <i>Wareford</i>	10	6	7	12	10	10	3	3	10	10	... D
...	...	100	E Hanney v.p.45, 77 ... <i>Hanlei</i>	10	10	7	8	7	7	...	2	10	...	... E
12	...	60	F Goosey ⁿ v.p.45 <i>Gosci</i>	17	11	9	9	10	10	2	3	6 ⁿ	3	... F
...	...	4	G Lyford	7	7	3	4	...	5	2	2	8	7	... G
...	...	36	b <i>in Linford</i>	10	3	3	1½	1	2	1	½	3	3	1 b
...	...	40	H Draycot Moor fish. <i>Draicole</i>	10	10	8	5	5	6	...	7	16	...	... H
...	...	30	I Kingston fish 5s	5	4	4	5	...	3	2	1	6	9	5 I
...	...	30	b <i>Chingestune</i>	5	5	4	3	...	2½	2	2	11	6	3 b
...	...	100	K Fifield †	10	10	8	10	10	6	2	3	13	5	7 K
...	...	12	b <i>Fivehideⁿ ½ fish 11½s</i>	10 ⁿ	5	6	6	...	5	2	2	8	3	4 b
...	...	...	L Appleton <i>Aplelone</i>	5	2½	4	4	3	2½	1	1	3	5	3 L
...	...	...	b <i>Apletune fish 34s</i> ...	5	2½	6	5	3½	3	1	1	4	5	3 b
...	...	25	M ? Eaton fish 5s	5	5	4	3	...	2½	2	3	3	4	... M
...	...	25	b <i>E(l)dtuneⁿ 2 fish 18s</i>	5	5	4	3	...	3½	2	1	3	6	... b
				141	110	107	102		98	40	56	147	131	42

F. Also a racheniste (with 1 car); de past. 16d.

G. 'Yet they commended themselves to Walter without leave.'

Kb. 'R.E. condonavit' for 5 hides.

			M			I	B
			L			D	A
H	K	C			G		
	I	B			F	E	

66 BERKSHIRE THE HUNDRED OF NACHEDE-

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Demesne <i>Ralf priest 1½. Rainald 2½ hid.</i>	A Edric alod A
B do.	Demesne	B King Edward B
b Geoff. Bp. of Coutan-	-ces Demesne	b Oda b
C Ab. of Battle	Demesne	C Earl Harold C
D Ab. of Abingdon	Demesne	D [Ab. of Abingdon] D
E do.	Wenric	E Blacheman of Har. alod G E
b Walt. f. Other	Demesne	b Wenesi b
F Hen. d. Ferrers	[another] Henry	F Edzui F
G do.	Ralf	G Bundi G
H do.	Roger	H Algar H
b Will. f. Ansculf... ..	Stephen	b Baldwin b
I do.	Stephen	I Baldwin I
b Ralf d. Mortemer	Oidelard	b Alwin b
K Theodric, goldsmith	Demesne	K Edward alod K

HILLES LAU (NOW IN SHRIVENHAM)

A Bp. of Winchester	'de victu monachorum' <i>Rog. d'Ivri 3½ hid.</i>	A [Bp of Winchester] A
B The King	Demesne	B King Edward B
b Ab. of Abingdon	<i>H. d. Ferrers ¼ hid.ⁿ</i> Anschil	b Edric alod G b & his son a monk ⁿ
C do.	Demesne	C Ab. of Abingdon... .. C
D Ab. of Glastonbury	<i>Gilbert 6 hid.</i> Dem. church 1 hid. <i>Rob. d'Olgi 4½ hid.</i> <i>Alwin 3; Edwin 2 hid.</i>	D Ab. of Glastonbury D
E Will. f. Richard	Demesne	E Osgot alod E
F Will. f. Ansculf... ..	Dem. church ½ hid.	F Almar alod F
G Odo d. Winton, King's	thegn	G 5 freemen alod G

NACHEDEDORNE

- C.** In Wallingford 5 closes. 'Harold paid geld on 10 hides, but the thegns holding before him on 15.'
Eb In Wallingford 6 closes of 2 s.

HILLES LAU

- A.** Rendered 22 l.
B. Rendered 26 l. H. de F. held 1 virg. and a 'vaccaria' of 10 weys of cheese; they remained in the king's farm when Godric lost the sheriffdom.

DORNE (NOW IN COMPTON, & FAIRCROSS) BERKSHIRE 67

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
...	...	...	A <i>Nachededorne ?</i> ...	20	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	12	15	12	10	2	2	8	4	... A
			see p. 39						3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1		1		
...	3	4	B Compton ...	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	[0]	8	6	6	8	2	6	6	12	3 B
...	10	...	b <i>Contone</i> ...	5	2 $\frac{1}{3}$	[7]	4	4	5	2	5	9	4	5 b
...	20	...	C Brightwaltham ⁿ † ...	15 ⁿ	0	[9]	10	...	9	2	7	10	13	3 C
			<i>Bristoldestone</i>											
...	f	5	D Farnborough ...	10	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	9	6	8	2	6	8	10	1 D
			<i>Ferneberge</i>											
...	10	...	E Chilton ...	5	5	6	[5]	...	[5]	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	13	... E
...	...	...	b <i>Cil(le)toneⁿ</i> ...	5	5	[4]	[5]	...	[5]	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	9	4 b
...	...	...	F Catmore ...	5	3	6	7	2	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	5	12	... F
			<i>Catmere</i>											
...	5	6	G Ashridge (Compton) ...	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	9	10	12	6	10	4	?	8	8	9 G
			<i>Assedone</i>											
...	...	...	H East Ilsley v.p. 46, 57	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	3	...	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	2	1 H
...	...	...	b <i>Hislelei</i> ...	10	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	7	4	4	1	2	4	2 7 b
...	...	...	I Hodcot (W. Ilsley)	5	5	3	6	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1	...	...	3	... I
...	...	...	b <i>Hodicote</i> ...	5	5	[3]	7	...	4	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	5	... b
...	10	...	K Aldworth ...	5	2	5	5	5	5	2	3	6	4	4 K
			<i>Ellecorde</i>											
				103	59 $\frac{3}{4}$	88	101		85	26	38	75	101	37

HILLES LAU (NOW IN SHRIVENHAM)

212 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	150	A Woolstone ...	20	10	11	16	12	18 ⁿ	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	24	10 A
			<i>Olricestone</i>						3	1				
...	...	200	B Sparsholt v.p. 44 ...	10	[0]	13	15	18	20 ⁿ	3	10	25	3	3 B
		12	<i>Spersolt</i>											
5	...	50	b <i>Spersoldⁿ</i> ...	10	10	4	7	4	6	2	1	2	...	1 b
5	...	85	C Uffington ...	40	14	14	15	21	26	3	7	17	16	11 C
			<i>Offentone</i>							1	1	...	16	...
10	...	200	D Ashbury ...	40	16 $\frac{5}{8}$	20	35	20	20	3	5	13	26	5 D
			<i>Eiseberie</i>											
121 $\frac{1}{2}$										12	5	1	2	7 4
...	...	200	E Odstone ...	10	5	7	12	8	10	2	3	...	18	5 E
			<i>Ordegston</i>											
...	...	60	F Compton Beauch. †	5	5	4	8	5	6	2	1	1	9	... F
			<i>Contone</i>											
...	...	...	G Knighton near do.	5	$\frac{2}{8}$	4	5	3	6	$\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	6	3 G
			<i>Nistetone</i>											
				140	61 $\frac{1}{4}$	77	113		127	25	34	75	125	42

HILLES LAU

Bb. Perhaps the rubric ' Wantage ' was omitted against this entry. As to the title see Domesday.

D. Parva silva.

NACHEDEDORNE

E
D IH
C F B K
G

HILLES LAU

C
F A G B
E D

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Demesne	A Harold A
B do.	Demesne	B King Edward ⁿ B
b Miles Crispin	William; <i>a knight 1 hid.</i>	b Baldwin b
c do. <i>with Graten-</i>	<i>tun, Oxfordshire</i>	c Wigot; <i>Leward (L)</i> c
C Will f. Ansculf	Alvred	C Alvred... .. C
D The King	Demesne	D King Edward D
b Ab. of Battle <i>with a church</i> ... ..	... ..	b Leveva abbess b
E Will. d. Braiose	Demesne	E Brictuald E
F Theodric, goldsmith	Demesne	F Edward F
G do.	Demesne	G Edward G
b Miles Crispin	William	b Baldwin b
c Will. d. Cailgi	a knight	c Godric... .. c
H do.	Demesne	H Horling H
I Will. f. Ansculf	Gilbert	I Alwin I
b do.	Stephen	b Ulmer b
K do.	a knight, <i>knight ¾ hid.</i>	K Horling K
b Ghilo bro. Ansculf	Demesne	b Saulf b
L C. of Evreux	Demesne	L Coleman, Brictuard GG L
M Hen. d. Ferrers	Demesne	M 2 alodiaries ⁿ M
b Ralf. d. Mortemer	a knight [Ab. Elsi	from old minster Winton ⁿ b
N do.	Demesne <i>knight ½ hid.</i>	N Cheping, Edwin, in parag. N
O Walt. f. Other	a knight	O Wicstric O
b The King	Demesne	b Brictuard of Harold b
c do. <i>with Swallowfield</i> ... ..	... ..	c Sexi c
P Will de Ow	Gozelin	P Alestan P
b Steph. f. Eirard	Demesne	b 3 thegns in parage, G... b
Q Roger (? Ralf) f. Seifrid	Demesne	Q Bristeward Q
b Theodric, goldsmith	Demesne	b Edward b
R Hen. d. Ferrers	Demesne	R Godric sheriff R
S do.	Lewin	<i>given from King's farm</i> S Lewin G S
b Alberic, Queen's cham-berlain	berlain	b Alward G b
c Herding, <i>given him by Queen Edith</i>	by <i>Queen Edith</i>	c Alveva G c
d Ralf d. Mortemer	Demesne	d Rachenild d

B. 'After (1066) Alwold chamberlain held it; later Froger (sheriff) put it (again) in the King's farm.'

Bb. Non geldavit T.R.E.

Bc. 'Lies and is valued in Gratentun Oxfordshire, but its *scotum* is in Berks.'

A. Returns with Wokefield 261.

Db. Also 29 houses of 28s. 8d.

M. 'Unus servivit Reginæ et alter Bundino.'

Mb. Ab. Elsi still held it 'later till he was utlage.'

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES			TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086			1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
20	30	124	A Aldermaston ⁿ † <i>Heldremanestune</i>	15	15	0	30	20½	20½	20½ ⁿ	2	18	36	12	2 A
20	...	...	B Pangbourne ...	2	0	2	2	2	2	...	...	4	5	...	B
10	...	14	b Pan(d)geborne ...	6¼ ⁿ	5	[3]	6	5	4	0	3	2	5		b
...	...	...	c in Lonchelei ⁿ v.p.40	1	?	1						1			c
...	3	...	C Hartridge ... <i>Hurterige</i>	10¼	1	1	5	3	...	1½	1	1	2	2	3 C
*35	100	150	D Reading ⁿ ...	43	43	40	40	40	48	1	55	55	30	...	D
240	5	12	b in Redinges ⁿ ...	8	3	7	9	8	11	1	5	9	8	...	b
18	...	...	E Southcot ⁿ <i>Sudcote</i>	2	1	3	4	...	5	1	2	5	8	...	E
...	...	12	F Whitley ⁿ <i>Witelai</i>	3	1	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	4	F
...	...	2	G Sulham ...	1	½	2	1½	1½	1½	1	...	...	5	2	G
...	...	...	b in Soleham ...	1	1	[2]	1	...	1½	1	½	...	3	...	b
...	...	4	c Soleham †	60	2	2	5	4	3	5	2	2	4	6	2 c
*53	100	20	H Bradfield ... <i>Bradefelt</i>	9	6	30	24	24	16	2	18	20	31	9	H
10	...	60	I Englefield ...	10	10	13	10	7	7½ ⁷ ₂₀	2	11	17	3	4	I
...	...	4	b I(E)nglefel ...	20	1	1	1	...	7½ ⁷ ₂₀	...	...	...	2	...	b
...	1	44	K Ufton ...	5	4½	5	5	3	3	1	6	8	5	1	K
...	...	36	b Offetune ...	10	5	3½	5	5	...	3	...	3	8	5	b
10	10	20	L Sheffield ... <i>Sewelle</i>	2	2	3	2	2	2	...	2	5	5	4	L
5½ ₆	15	40	M in Burghfield ⁿ ...	1½	1½	6	2	...	2½	2	1	2	2	...	M
1½5½ ₆	15	43	b Borgefel(le) ⁿ †	5	1½	1½	6	2	...	2½	1	5	6	8	b
... ⁿ	40	7	N Stratfield Mort. † <i>Stradfeld v.p.47</i>	6	3	21	18	10	10½	2	8	14	13	10	N
...	15	4	O Woke-Oakfield ...	1½	1½	2	1	...	1½	1	1	...	6	...	O
...	50	6	b Offelle, Hofelle ...	1½	0	3	wi-	th	A	...	2	3	6	2	b
...	...	...	c in hundred ...	10	1	0	in	So	la fel	...	3	4	2	...	c
1½7½ ₂	...	16	P Padworth ...	2½	2½	2	2½	...	2	1	1	3	4	...	P
2½37½	...	48	b Peteorde... ...	10	7½	5½	5	5	4	4½	1	1	3	2	b
...	...	16	Q Purley Porlei ...	4½	4	4	5	4	5	2	3	9	3	...	Q
...	...	5	b in Porlaa ...	5	½	½	2	2	...	2½	1	1	1	3	b
15	...	40	R Woolhampton ... <i>Ollavinlone</i>	3	3	3	5	6	4	4	...	5	12	4	R
...	5	2	S in Burlei ⁿ ...	1	1	[1]	½	...	1	...	1	1	1	...	S
...	...	...	b in do. ...	1	0	1½	1½	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	b
...	5	...	c in do. ...	1	0	1½	1	...	¾	0	1	3	...	...	c
...	15	...	d Hurlei v.p.39...	5	2	1	2	[2]	...	2	0	2	2	3	d
				153¼	110¼	221	188		173	29	165	245	200	47	

Fisheries

A. Two 5s. **D.** Three 14½s.
Db. Two and a half 5s.
E. 50d. **F.** 40d.
M. 5½s. **Mb.** 68d. **S.** 8d.

CB Q D
 G E F
 HI
 L M
 A R P K O
 N

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Demesne <i>8 free tenantsⁿ 11 hid.</i>	A King Edward A
B do.	Demesne <i>a priest 1 hideⁿ</i>	B Queen Eddid B
C Ab. of Abingdon ...	Demesne	C Ab. of Abingdon ... C
D Ab. of Westminster...	Demesne	D St. Peter's Westminster D
E Ralf f. Seifrid	Demesne <i>his son-in-law ½ hid.</i>	E Earl Harold E
F Albert	Demesne	F Hugh chamberlain ... F
G Walt. f. Other	Demesne	G Godric... .. G
H Eudo f. Hubert ...	Demesne	H Alvric H

ROEBERG (NOW IN FAIRCROSS)

A The King	Teodric	A Lanc of Q. Eddid ... A
b Bp of Salisbury ...	Ranulf Flammard ...	b Bishop Herman... .. b
c Hascoit Musard ...	Chemarhulc	c Bristec G c
d do.	Norman	d Bristec d
B Ab. of Abingdon ...	Demesne <i>R. 10, W. 4, B. 2 hid.ⁿ</i>	B Ab. of Abingdon ... B <i>Bricstuin, Alfie & reeve; L</i>
C do.	Walter d. Ravere ... <i>a knight 2 hid.</i>	C The abbey. Norman L C
D do.	Demesne <i>Will. 5 hid.</i> <i>Godefrid 1½ hid.</i>	D Ab. of Abingdon ... D
E Gilb. de Gand	Robert <i>Algold 3 hid.</i>	E Tunna... .. E
F Gilb. d. Bretville ...	Richard	F Godwin, Urlewine; G. 2 halls
b Ralf d. Mortemer ...	Oidelard	b 2 thegns, 2 halls, G. ... b
c C. of Evreux	Demesne	c Alwin in parage... .. c

SERIVEHAM (SHRIVENHAM)

X The King	Demesne <i>the church 5 hid.</i>	X King Edward X
Y Ab. of Abingdon ...	Demesne <i>Gilb. 3½ hid.</i> <i>Wimund 1 hid.</i>	Y Ab. of Abingdon ... Y
Z C. of Evreux	Demesne	Z 2 freemen alod MM ... Z

RIPLESMERE

A. Albert the clerk 1½ h. and ½ <i>denar</i> , Walt. f. Other 1¼ h., Gilbert Maminot ¾ h., William 1 h., Alvric 1 h., another Alvric 1 h., the priest 1½ h., two sergeants of the king ½ h., Eudo dapifer 2 h. A fishery of 6s 8d; 95 closes.	B. 'The priest of Geof. d. Mandeville <i>misit</i> ' this hide ' into a manor of his lord. '
	C. 4 hides in the King's forest.
	E. 'The Castle of Windsor is in the [other] ½ hide. '

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
...	50	40	A Old Windsor ⁿ ... <i>Windesores</i>	20	[0]	...	15	7	15	1	10	22	2	1 A
...	100	...	B Warfield ... <i>Warwell</i>	10	10	...	12	12	6	...	8	13	...	B
...	...	...	C Winkfield ⁿ ... <i>Wenesfelle</i>	10	3½ ⁿ	20	4	4	4	...	9	20	...	C
...	10	...	D Easthampstead ... <i>Lachenestede</i>	10	5	8	5	2½	3	...	5	14	...	D
10	10	20	E Clewer ⁿ ... <i>Clivore</i>	5	4½ ⁿ	...	7	...	4½	1½	4	9	6	... E
...	5	20	F Dedworth ... <i>Dideorde</i>	1	1	...	4	1½	1½	1	2	4	1	... F
...	2	1	G Ortune ...	1½	1½	...	2	...	1½	2	...	...	3	... G
...	5	7	H Losefelle ...	2	1	...	4	...	1½	2	2	7	...	... H
				59½	26½		53		37	7½	40	89	12	1

ROEBERG (NOW IN FAIRCROSS)

...	3	2	A Winterbourne ...	5	0	5	6	2½	4	1	4	4	11	... A
...	...	...	b Wintreburne ...	2	0	1	[1]	...	1	½	...	...	4	... b
...	...	...	c do. ...	2	1¾	[2]	1	1	1	1	½	1	2	... c
...	4	2	d in do. ...	14	5	2¼	6	8	...	4	2	4	5	8 2 d
560	20	40	B Welford ⁿ †† ... <i>Waliford</i>	50	37	24	27	27	27	5	22	33	34	9 B
...	...	...	C Beeton ...	15 ⁿ	8	11	11	6	8	2	6	11	10	3 C
...	60	4	D Chieveley ... <i>Civelei</i>	27	7½	20	12	12	10	3	18	28	10	3 D
...	20	...	E Bradley Court ? ... <i>a manor</i>	6	3	6	6	3	3	1	4	2	4	3 E
...	2	...	F Peasemore v.p.44 ...	7	4	3	4	4	4	1½	½	2	5	... F
...	6	...	b Praxmere ...	8	3	6	6	3	5	2	3	4	11	... b
...	...	...	c in do. v.p.43 ...	49	1	0	...	...	½	...	½	...	1	... c
				128	66½	95	92		80	25	71	107	135	26

SERIVEHAM (SHRIVENHAM)

220	20	240	X Shrivenham † ... <i>Seriveham</i>	46	[0]	33	35	20	45	4	30	80	17	... X
...	25	...	Y Watchfield ... <i>Wachenesfeld</i>	20	10	12	15	10	12	3	6	14	10	8 Y
...	...	93	Z Beckett (in Shrivm.) ... <i>Becote</i>	5	2¼	4	4	...	4	2	1½	2	13	... Z
				71	12	49	54	...	68	11	40	102	52	8

ROEBERG

- B. Of these 50 hides Reinbold holds Leckhampstead 10 hides ; William in Weston 4 hides ; Berner in Boxford 2 hides.
- C. Fuit pro 15 hidis, tamen R. Ed. condonavit pro 11 (? 10) hidis.

Diagram



RIPLESMERE

Diagram



TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Dem. <i>H. d. Fer. 120 a.</i>	A [King Edward]... .. A
b Ab. of Abingdon	Alwi priest	b Alwi's father b
B Earl Hugh... ..	William	B Ednod of Harold G ... B
b Hascoit Musard	Demesne	b Godwin alod b
C The King	Demesne	C Harold... .. C
D do.	Demesne	D King Edward D
b Hen. d. Ferrers... ..	Henry (another)	b Godric sheriff (K's farm) b
E Ab. of Abingdon	Dem. <i>Rainald 3 hid.</i> <i>Azeline 2$\frac{1}{4}$ hid.</i>	E Ab. of Abingdon E
F do.	Demesne	F do. F
G do.	<i>Robert 1 hid.</i> Demesne	G do. G
b Walt. Giffard	Demesne	b Queen Eddid b
H Alwold chamberlain ... ..	... ..	H Queen Eddid H

TACEHAM (THATCHAM)

A The King	Demesne	A King Edward A
<i>Two clerics with the church 3 hid.</i>		
B St Peter's Dive... ..	Demesne	B Edward M B
b Edward, King's thegn	Demesne	b the same Edward alod b
c Ralf d. Mortemer	Baldwin	c 2 freemen MM c
C do.	Demesne	C Godwin alod C
b Rob. f. Giroid	Dem. <i>an English knt.</i>	b Brictric alod b
D Bernard the falconer	Demesne	D Alwin alod D
E Alwi Chevresbert K's	thegn	E the same Alwi E
F Hen. d. Ferrers... ..	Demesne	F Seward alod F
G Ghilo br. Ansculf	Demesne <i>Almar $\frac{3}{4}$ hid.</i> <i>Rayner $\frac{1}{4}$, Gilb. 1$\frac{3}{8}$ hid.</i>	G 5 freemen M G
H Ern. d. Hesding	Demesne	H Ulward alod H
I Humfrey Visdelew	Demesne	I Carlo alod I
<i>the church $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.</i>		
K Hugh f. Baldric	Demesne	K Alvrice alod... .. K
L Humfrey chamberlain	Demesne	L Ulveva alod L
M Will. Lovet	Demesne	M Toti alod M
N Cola, King's thegn ... ..	... ..	N Brictric alod N

SUDTONE

- A.** Renders 60l; in Wallingford 1 close of 18d.
C. Renders 40l. In Oxford 13 closes of 12s. 6d.

D. Renders 20l.**F.** De lucro terræ dominicæ 21s.**Gb.** In W. 8 closes of 4s; pro herb. 5s.**H.** Probably taken from Ganfield or Wifol by Queen Edith.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN				
			DOMESDAY NAMES	1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv		
350	40	300	A Sutton Courtney ⁿ	23 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	20	30	20	50 ⁿ	3	17	48	21	2	A	
...	b in Sudtone ...	1	1	...	[1]	...	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	3	...	b	
...	...	13	B Drayton (-tune)	2	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	4	2	B
...	b Drailtone v.p.43	29 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	3	...	1	...	1	4	...	b	
345	...	268	C Steventon ⁿ † Slivetune	20	20	0	20	25	20	32 ⁿ	4	10	38	28	2	C
42	...	4	D Hendred ...	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	5	10	8	15 ⁿ	2	2	8	13	2	D	
...	...	6	b Henret ...	1	0	2	5	...	5	2	...	...	8	...	b
10	...	344	E Milton ...	33 $\frac{1}{2}$	28	23	24	25	...	25	4	15	39	25	4	E
12 $\frac{1}{2}$...	30	Middeltune	4 $\frac{1}{4}$...	3	5	11	2	...	
225	...	60	F Appleford ⁿ fish 10s Apleford	5	5	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	9	9	2	4	14	20	1	F	
10	...	53	G Wittenham †	10	5	6	15	12	12	2	3	11	9	...	G	
...	...	163	b Witeham ⁿ ...	20	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	16	20	15	20	3	9	29	16	6	b	
...	...	59	H Carswell ⁿ fish 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ s Cherswelle	5	1	2	4	4	4	2	1	4	6	9	H	
				123 $\frac{1}{4}$	49 $\frac{1}{4}$	104	150	...	181	25	65	200	166	30		

(THATCHAM NOW IN FAIRCROSS AND READING)

22 ¹ ₂	60	147	A Thatcham ⁿ †	...	2 ⁿ	nq	25	20	...	30 ⁿ	...	25	35	12	...	A	
			<i>Taceham</i>		5	3	3	...		3	...	...	...	
...	...	...	B in Curridge	...	2	0	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	$\frac{3}{8}$	1	...	...	B
...	...	...	b in Coserige	...	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	1	...	...	3	...	b
...	c Coserige	...	10	7	2 ³ ₄	2	3	...	2 ¹ ₂	1	1	1	4	...	c
12	...	30	C Brimpton †	...	3 ¹ ₂	2 ¹ ₂	4	3 ¹ ₂	3 ¹ ₂	3 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂	3	6	3	6	C	
226 ¹ ₄	...	35	b Brintone †	...	4 ¹ ₂	3 ¹ ₂	4	4 ¹ ₂	4 ¹ ₂	4 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂	3	5	3	1	b	
16			D Wasing Walsince	...	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	4	3	3	3	2	2	5	1	1	D	
...	...	...	E Crookham	...	10	1	1	[1]	...	1	[1]	...	3	...	...	E
			<i>Crocheham</i>														
11 ¹ ₂	...	121	F Greenham †	...	5	2 ¹ ₂	10	8	8	6	2	7	11	19	4	F	
10 ⁵ ₈			<i>Grencham</i>														
14	...	80	G Midgham	...	5	2	10	5	...	6	...	5	9	5	...	G	
			<i>Migeham</i>				2 ¹ ₂					1 ¹ ₂	5	8			
250	25	27	H Newbury ⁿ	...	10	2 ¹ ₂	12	9	8	24 ⁿ	1	7	11	11	...	H	
			<i>Ulvritone</i>														
22	3	60	I Speen †	...	10	5	9	8	...	10	3	6	9	10	7	I	
			<i>Spone</i>														
20	50	5	K Shaw	...	5	2 ¹ ₂	5	6	6	6	$\frac{1}{2}$	4	4	12	3	K	
			<i>Essage</i>														
20	4	22	L Bagnor	...	3	1	3	4	4	4	1	2	3	3	1	L	
			<i>Bagenore</i>														
15	5	4	M Donnington ?	...	8	1 ¹ ₄	5	8	5	3 ¹ ₂	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	4	3	2	M	
			<i>Deritone</i>														
15	3	25	N Acenge ?...	...	14	3	2	[6]	3	3	3	1	5	5	3	4	N
					74	33	103	87		111	17	74	117	100	29		

TACEHAM

SUDTONE

A. Tunc se defendit pro 2 hidis, et nunquam geld. Renders 33 $\frac{1}{2}$; from 12 closes 55s.

H. From 51 closes 20s. 7d.

LMB
I K
H
F

A G
E CD

BA
CE FG
D

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King <i>William the</i>	Demesne <i>deacon $\frac{1}{3}$ ch. 1 hid.</i>	A King Edward <i>Bp. Peter $\frac{2}{3}$ church, 4 hid.ⁿ</i>
B do.	Demesne	B Ulvric a freeman... ..
b do. [Robert]	with Wantage $\frac{1}{8}$ hid]	b Ulftet $\frac{1}{8}$ hid. G
c Miles Crispin	William	c Levric a monk G... ..
C The King	Demesne	C Elmer; then Bp Peter
b Ralf d. Todeni <i>part of Earl</i>	Drogo... .. <i>Roger's fee</i>	b 3 freemen
c Hen. d. Ferrers... ..	Robert	c Tovi a freeman
d Will. f. Corbucion	Geoffrey	d Tovi
D The King	Demesne <i>the church 1 hid.</i>	D 3 freemen MMM, sheriff Froger made it one Manor
b Hascoit Musard... ..	Demesne	b Brictric a freeman
c Turstin f. Rolf	Roger... ..	c Brictric a freeman
d Hen. d. Ferrers... ..	Polchehard	d Godric a freeman... ..
e do. <i>claimed unjustly as</i>	Demesne <i>Godric's (sheriff) v.p. 46</i>	e 4 freemen
E Ab. of Abingdon	Demesne	E Ab. of Abingdon... ..
F do.	Dem. <i>the church $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.</i> <i>Gilbert 1 hid.</i>	F Ab. of Abingdon... ..
b Hen. d. Ferrers	Hubert	b Siward
G do.	Rayner	G Acibric... ..
b Will. de Ow	Gozelin	b Alward freeman from King
c Rob. d. Stafford... ..	Laurence	c Leveva a free woman
d Rog. d. Laci	Demesne	d Lewin a freeman
H do.	Demesne	H Edmund a freeman
b Turstin f. Rolf	Demesne <i>Roger 6$\frac{1}{4}$ hid.</i>	b Brictric a freeman
c Will. f. Richard... ..	Dem. 2 hides Godfrey 10 hid. }	c Osgot a freeman
I Rob. d'Oily... ..	Demesne	I Edwin a freeman... ..
b do.	Demesne	b Savin a freeman
c do. <i>claimed unjustly</i>	Azor ⁿ <i>from Azor</i>	c Azor, K's 'dispensator' G

Ic. 'Azor holds of Robert, but the Hundred say he ought to hold of the King, who gave it to him at Windsor and put the writ in his hands there. Robert holds it unjustly.'

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dein	men	vill	cott	serv
...	A Wantage † ...	4 ⁿ	24 ⁿ	21	55	...	61	5	17	30	40	5 A
8 ¹ / ₈	...	12	<i>Wanetintz</i>	5	0	[3]	4 ¹ / ₄	...	5 ¹ / ₂	1	2	7	7	...
...	B Betterton near ...	10	1 ³ / ₄	4	6	3	5	1 ¹ / ₂	2	4	5	... B
...	b to Lockinge ...	1 ¹ / ₈	0	...	1 ¹ / ₅	1 ¹ / ₅	1 ¹ / ₅	...	...	...	...	... b
5	...	10	c <i>Bedretone</i> ...	10	5	4	8	4	3	...	1 ¹ / ₂	1	5	2 c
7 ¹ / ₂ ⁿ	...	24	C Charlton ...	8	7	4	8	4	8	1	1	1	7	3 C
1 ¹ / ₂ ⁵	...	21	<i>Cerletone</i> b do. ...	7	7	7	5	...	6	1	1	4	13	... b
1 ¹ / ₂ ⁵	...	8	c do. ...	2 ¹ / ₈	2 ¹ / ₂	1	2 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	1	...	...	7	... c
...	d do. ...	20	2 ¹ / ₂	1	2	...	2 ¹ / ₂	1	1 ¹ / ₂	1	5	... d
...	...	84	D Sparsholt † <i>v.p. 44, 67</i>	16	0	10	29	15	19 ¹ / ₂ ⁿ	2	5	28	17	3 D
...	...	4	<i>Spersholt</i>	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	...
...	b do. ...	2	2	4	8	8	8	1	2	8	5	2 b
...	...	16	c do. ...	2 ³ / ₄	2 ³ / ₄	1	1 ¹ / ₂	1	1 ¹ / ₂	1	...	...	...	2 c
...	d do. ...	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1	2	...	1 ¹ / ₂	...	...	2	2	4 d
...	...	3	e ? here ...	25 ¹ / ₂	3 ¹ / ₄	1	2	3	2	2	...	1	...	8 ... e
6 ¹ / ₂	...	3	E West Ginge ...	10	2 ¹ / ₄	5	8	...	7	2	2	4	18	5 E
2 ¹ / ₂	...	34	F E. Lockinge †	10	6 ¹ / ₄	8	9	...	7	1	4	8	11	3 F
...	...	41	<i>Lachinges</i> b W. do. ...	10	10	6	10	...	8	2	2	3	14	1 b
...	...	30	G Denchworth †	7	5 ¹ / ₂	5	3 ¹ / ₂	3	4	1	1	5	5	... G
...	...	27	b <i>Denchesworde</i> ...	5	5	2	2 ¹ / ₂	2	3	1	1	2	6	2 b
...	...	24	c do. ...	6	4 ¹ / ₂	2	3	3	3	1	1	4	5	... c
...	d in hundred ...	20	2	1 ¹ / ₂	...	[1]	1 ¹ / ₂	...	1 ¹ / ₂	3	...	... d
4 ¹ / ₈	H Childrey ...	13	8 ¹ / ₂	5	8 ¹ / ₂	8 ¹ / ₂	8 ¹ / ₂	2	3	10	9	2 H
2	<i>Celrea</i> b do. † ...	10	8	4	10	8	9 ¹ / ₄	1	1	5	6	3 b
...	c do. ...	35	12	8	9	9	6 ³ / ₅	2	1 ¹ / ₂	2	3	... c
4	...	36	I Ardington ...	5	2 ¹ / ₄	2	4	4	4	1	1 ¹ / ₂	3	8	2 I
11	...	26	b <i>Ardintone</i> ...	9	4 ³ / ₄	5	16	12	16	1	?	6	...	5 b
25	...	10	c in hundred ...	15	1	0	2	3	3	3 ⁿ	1	1 ¹ / ₂	...	11 ... c

- A.** Tunc (*interlined et modo*) 4 hidæ. Nunquam geld.
The Bishop's $\frac{1}{3}$ of church is in the King's hand,
because it did not belong to the Bishopric.
C. Walter Giffard holds the mill wrongfully.
D. Renders 23*l*. **Ic.** Renders 4*l*.

Diagram

G L
C
D H A F I K
B E

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
K Ab. of St Alban's ... <i>gift of Nigel d. Albini</i>	Demesne <i>Ernuzon 2 hid.</i>	K 3 thegns G K
b Grimbold	Demesne	b Achi a freeman b
c Cola, King's thegn ...	Demesne	c Sawin a freeman... .. c
d Aeldeva in alms ...	... ..	d the same freewoman ... d
e C. of Evreux	Demesne	e Alwin e
f Bp of Salisbury	Tori	f Tori's father G ⁿ , <i>see p.49</i> f
g The King	Robert <i>with Sutton</i> ...	g Leflet G g
x C. of Evreux	Demesne	x 7 freemen x
y C. of Evreux	Demesne	y Algar y
L do.	Demesne	L 2 freemen L
b Walt. Giffard	Demesne <i>Tuold the priest 1 hid.</i>	b Earl Tosti b
c do.	Osbern; Teodric ...	c Edwin freeman c
d Gilb. d. Bretville ...	Gozelin	d Godric a freeman ... d
e do.	Demesne	e Alvric a freeman... .. e
f Alsì d. Faringdon, K's	thegn	f Alvric a freeman... .. f

WIFOL (NOW IN FARINGDON AND SHRIVENHAM)

A The King	Demesne <i>the church 1, Alsì 4 hid.</i>	A Harold... .. A
B do.	Demesne <i>the church $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.</i>	B do. B
b do.	Demesne	b do. b
C St Mary, Winton ... <i>given by Walter d. Laci</i>	Demesne <i>with his daughter</i>	C Edmund alod. C
b Will. f. Richard ...	Demesne	b Osgot alod. b
c Turstin f. Rolf	Demesne	c Brictric alod. c
D Walt. f. Pons	Demesne <i>Ab. of Westmr. 3 hid.</i>	D Guert alod. D
E Earl Hugh... ..	Robert <i>Drogo 8, Ranulf 4 hid.</i>	E Earl Harold E

WANTAGE

- Kf.** Tori's father had commended himself to
Bp. Herman and Tori to Bp. Osmund.
Ld. Rendered 6*l.* and an oz. of gold.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
				1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	cott	serv
...	...	45	K Hendred † ...	10	4	4	10	10	10	2	1	3	3	K
		5	<i>Henret v.p.45, 73</i>							1	...	...	4	...
10	...	15	b do. ...	5	1	2	4	1½	4	1	1	2	5	b
20	...	8	c do. † ...	7	1¾	3	5	...	4	...	...	...	8	c
...	...	1	d do. ...	1	1	...	1	...	¼	...	...	...	2	d
...	...	5	e do. ...	5	2	2	3	...	3½	1	1	...	6	e
6¼	f in hund. V.H. 335 ...	1½	1½	½	¾	1	1½	1	...	...	1	f
...	g in Sudtone ...	30½	⅛	0	1½	1½	1½	...	...	...	...	g
...	...	5	x in hundred ...	5	5	0 ³⁰	2½	1½	1½	1½	...	1	...	x
...	...	12	y in hundred ...	1	0 ⁶	1	½	...	½	...	...	...	2	y
227½	...	70	L Hanney v.p.45, 65 ...	6	2	5	5	...	6	1	1	...	20	L
			<i>Hannei</i>											
12½	b Hannei † ...	14	7	8	10	8	14	2	3	14	8	b
7½												
...	...	24	c do. ...	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	...	...	11	c
230	...	38	d do. v.p.43 ...	6	6	3	6	6	6 ⁿ	2	½	...	12	d
...	...	8	e in hundred v.p.43 ...	½	½	[1]	½	...	½	...	...	1	...	e
...	...	6	f do. ...	30	½	½	10	10	10	...	...	...	2	f
				239	133	146	251	264	47	59	174	318	53	

WIFOL (NOW IN FARINGDON AND SHRIVENHAM)

												vill	bor	serv
35 ⁿ	<i>f</i>	130	A Faringdon ⁿ †	30	0	15	16	12	23½	3	10	17	10	A
			<i>Ferendone</i>						1½	2	...	...	2	6
...	...	77	B Coxwell †	20	non	8	8	6	10	2	3	9	4	B
			<i>Cochswelle</i>											
...	<i>f</i>	200	b do. ...	10	non	9	16	12	14	2	6	11	6	b
10	...	69	C Coleshill	8	2½	[3]	7	6	5	2	1	6	3	C
			<i>Coleselle</i>											
10	...	69	b Coleshalle	8	5	3	7	6	4	2	...	2	5	b
10	...	69	c Coleselle v.p.47	24	8	5	3	7	2	5	2	½	7	c
...	...	148	D Eaton Hastings ⁿ ...	20	6	[7]	10	5	9	3	4	13	5	D
			<i>Etone v.p.43</i>						1	1	¾	...	4	...
...	...	300	E Buscot ⁿ ...	40	6	20	20	17	26	4	8	25	25	E
			<i>Boroardescote</i>							2	...	2	6	...
				144	24½	68	91	99	25	33	85	77	47	

WIFOL

Fisheries

A. (with mill) 35s.
D. 16s. **E.** 18½s.

A. In it 9 closes of 40s.
C. William de Laci gave it
to St. Mary's with his daughter.

E D
A
C B

NOTE ON THE TABLES FOR MIDDLESEX.

Middlesex is a county in which churches are not mentioned, and priests only in connection with land, generally as sharing with the villeins and bordars in the men's teams¹. On the other hand the survey of Middlesex differs from that of other counties by giving in detail the holdings of the villeins; but these details must be studied in the original text—it has been impossible to work them into the tables. It is one of the counties in which Domesday records the number of hides “in demesne;” in the table these hides are given in brackets after the word “Demesne.” So far as these hides in demesne are concerned they would appear, for the reasons given in the note to Bucks, to be regular hides of the assessment for geld². As to the hides and virgates of the villein holdings there is much difficulty, for there is often a wide difference between the assessment of the estate as a whole and the sum of the details which follow. Middlesex is also one of the counties in which *M* is used as a rubric to mark the “manors.” In Middlesex this rubric seems to be used carefully. It is missing at Hayes, Harrow, Stepney, Isleworth and Stanwell, but all these head the lists of their owners and were apparently thought to need no rubric; otherwise it is set against nearly every estate where we might expect it. The exceptions are Willesden—as to which there is something to be said later—the five hides of “Lilestone,” which was “King’s alms,” the five hides of Harlesden, ten “in Bedfont” and eight “in West Bedfont.” The last three omissions look intentional, for in each case the entry says by a special form that the hides are held “for a manor,” a phrase not used elsewhere in Middlesex but common in Bucks where it must be further discussed³. As a rule the estates rubricated as manors are entered thus:—(the Abbot holds) “Greenford;”—and the lands not so rubricated, thus:—(Geoffrey holds) “in Greenford.” We have however manors “in Fulham,” at “St. Pancras,” “in Westminster,” “in Kingsbury,” “in Haggerston” and “in Laleham.” On the other hand “Cowley,” “Rugmere” and “Tollington” are not rubricated as manors, but they have only two hides apiece. To the entries rubricated an *M* is attached in the tables, whilst *M* represents the phrase “held for a manor,” [*M*] is set against such entries as Hayes and Harrow, which were obviously manors though not rubricated, and (*M*) against three estates in Ossulston which are only spoken of as “manors” in connection with the T.R.E. holders.

The Middlesex return seems to have been made with care. Practically every holding has the full number of three valuations, and the teams are carefully accounted for. Where the teams at work are less than the

¹ In the tables the ‘men’s teams’ include the priest’s share.

² See pp. 133, 134 below.

³ See p. 139 below.

number for which "there is land," we are expressly told (except at Enfield and Colham) that as many more might be added as would make up the number of teamlands.¹ Even if these possible teams may perhaps sometimes be a mere assumption, there is at least a wish to make the sum balance; they are expressed in the table by small figures. There is occasionally on small estates no guide to the apportionment of the teams between the demesne and the villeins; such teams have been entered in the table as described in the note to Bucks (p. 135).

The system of hidation is clear enough, for three villis out of four are rated in multiples of five hides and in most other cases the grouping by that unit is obvious.² Sunbury and Shepperton illustrate the origin, at least in some cases, of the less regular assessments. In Domesday the Abbey of Westminster held 7 hides at Sunbury and 8 at Shepperton, these two adjoining manors forming a 15 hide group. As this group fits neatly into the hundred of Spelthorn 15 was clearly the original hidage of the two together, and we might naturally suppose that it was the rating of a vill divided into two hamlets and was distributed 7 hides to one and 8 to the other. But we know from other evidence that this was not the case, for a Westminster charter³ tells us that in earlier days Sunbury had 10 hides; Shepperton therefore can then have had only 5 and originally they were two separate villis each with a round assessment. At some time before 1065 three hides must have been moved from Sunbury to Shepperton; perhaps these 3 hides were a hamlet of Sunbury and had been attached to their adjoining estate at Shepperton.⁴

The hundred rubric is missing in four cases—Hayes, the Rouen manor at Harmondsworth, Drayton and part of Kingsbury⁵—but in none of them is there any doubt as to the correction. The hidage of the hundreds works out thus:—

Ossulston	219 $\frac{3}{4}$	say	220	Elthorn	224 $\frac{1}{2}$	say	225
Gore	149	,,	150	Hounslow	105	,,	105
Edmonton	70	,,	70	Spelthorn	112	,,	110

The correction of Spelthorn as 110 is confirmed by a 12th century list of Middlesex hides which gives to Spelthorn 110, Isleworth (Hounslow) 105, Elthorn 224, Gore 149, and Mimms (Edmonton) 70 or 69.⁶ Apparently in Spelthorne two of the twelve hides given by Domesday to Feltham (129 b 1) duplicate the previous entry of two hides "in Bedfont." We are expressly told that both T.R.E. and T.R.W. the latter two hides lay in—i.e. had been attached to—(the manor of) Feltham, and Harold's housecarl who held them may well be the same as his "homo" who held seven of the twelve hides given under Feltham.

The corrected County total is thus 880 hides and Mr. W. J. Corbett has pointed out that they are neatly divided by the hundreds into groups

¹ In Isleworth ten teams are missing, but I suspect that a figure has been miscopied. At Stanmore one team is missing. At Tottenham, Haggerston, Tollington, Feltham and Stanwell there are more teams than teamlands.

² Hanwell, Dawley and Hillingdon, rated at 8, 3 and 4 hides, appear to have been all robbed by the larger Hayes, which lies between them.

³ Earle, *Land-Charters* pp. 203, 293; Kemble, *Archaeological Journal* (1857) xiv 61; Birch, *Cart. Sax.* iii 315, No. 1085.

⁴ Shepperton cannot well have annexed 3 hides

from Feltham, given by D.B. as 12 hides, for that would not agree with the later list (see p. 84 below) which, though it gives Feltham 15, still gives 8 to Shepperton; but even if it were so, the lesson would be the same.

⁵ D.B. 127 a 1; 128 b 2; 128 a 2 end. In a former paper I left Drayton in Ossulston, under which rubric it stands last in Domesday, but its ownership proves that it is West Drayton in Elthorn hundred, not the Drayton near Hanwell.

⁶ Add. MS. 14252 f 126; see p. 84. below.

of 220, 220, 330, and 110.¹ It is tempting to think that the county was originally divided into four quarters of 220 each, Ossulston 220, Gore cum Edmonton 220, Elthorn 220 and Hounslow 110 cum Spelthorn 110, five hides having been afterwards moved from Hounslow to Elthorn. The character of the Domesday hundred of Hounslow suggests a reason for the change. The whole of its 105 hides were held in 1065 by Algar and in 1086 by Walter de St. Walery. If besides these 105 hides the original Hounslow contained also the 5 hides of Cranfield, held in 1086 by William fitz Ansculf, it might well suit all parties to move these 5 hides at Cranfield out of Hounslow into Elthorn, so as to limit the hundred of Hounslow to the 105 hides which were all in one ownership. The entry for the five hides at Tottenham raises a little puzzle. The Countess Judith held there "two carucates of land besides (*praeter*) the five hides." These carucates were plainly free from geld, but they do not seem to represent a remission of geld previously due, for the five-hide system of Edmonton hundred is complete without them. Such carucates are also found elsewhere and will be more conveniently discussed in the note to Buckinghamshire (pp. 134-5).

In the 12th Century only 850 $\frac{1}{4}$ hides were left subject to geld, for the amount accounted for, at 2s. per hide, in the Pipe Rolls of both 1130 and 1155² is £85. 0. 6d. and exactly the same amount is given as the "Dane-geld Middlesexe" by the 12th century list of hides. The latter seems to show that the reduction was mainly due to remission in Ossulston, for the details given for that hundred, as well as the 'summa,' are only 191 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides instead of the 219 $\frac{3}{4}$ of Domesday. They end with Willesden, Harlesden and Twyford, all three belonging to the Canons of St. Paul's, but they omit 26 other hides held by the Canons in 1086 and long afterwards. Apparently the geld on these 26 hides had been permanently released.³

The problems of identification are few. For the nameless holdings we have help from the five-hide system. The two in Elthorn hundred look like part of Greenford; 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides in Ossulston fit into Westminster cum Chelsea; in Spelthorn $\frac{2}{3}$ hide belonged no doubt to Hatton, which probably also contained the nameless hide held by St. Trinity, Rouen. "Eia" is given in the 12th century list as "Lya" (? l'Eia) and is there marked as held by the Abbot of Westminster. It cannot, therefore, as has been suggested be Ealing, which belonged from early times to the Bishop of London⁴ and must apparently have been included by Domesday under Fulham. Eia is identified by others, no doubt correctly, with the manor of Ebury, on the western side of the Eyebourne⁵, between Westminster and Chelsea, which fits well with Westminster ownership. As the 10 hides of Ebury lie between the 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides of Westminster and the (?) 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ of Chelsea, the Abbey would seem to have attached 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides of Chelsea to their chief manor.

One other puzzle must be noticed. The five-hide system is very prominent in Ossulston and it appears to connect in one and the same

¹ R. Hist. Soc. Trans. 1900, N.S. xiv. 205.

² In 1130; paid £35. 2., pardoned £49. 18. 6. In 1155; paid £39. 7. 6., pardoned £35. 13., waste £10.

³ See p. 84 below.

⁴ Lysons, Middlesex Parishes, Ealing.

⁵ The Eyebourne ran by Berkeley Square and Buckingham Palace to near Vauxhall Bridge; Lysons, Environs of London, Marybone.

10-hide group 4 hides (2 + 2) in "Tuervede," 4 in "Stanestaple," and 2 in "Rugemere" all held by the Canons of St. Pauls. But this group does not stand examination. We know that Twyford was at the south end of Willesden, near Stonebridge, and that Rugmere was in the parish of St. Pancras¹, presumably at the north end near Highgate pond, five miles from Twyford and separated from it by Hampstead, Willesden and Harlesden, so that Twyford and Rugmere cannot well have belonged to the same original group. The name of Ruckholt Farm in Twyford might have something to do with 'Rugmere,' and it is just possible that the estate (?prebend) called Rugmere held in 1086 by Canon Ralph consisted really of two separate hides, one near St. Pancras and the other near Twyford. This however seems unlikely and there is no trace of any part of Twyford having ever been in the parish of St. Pancras. But we know, from its early division into prebends, that the Domesday "Wellsdone," with 15 hides must have consisted mainly of the hamlets of Oxgate, Chamberlain Wood, Brownswood, Mapesbury, Neasdon and Brandsbury. Perhaps therefore the 15 hides of "Wellsdone" were not a true group belonging to the original system of hidation, but a consolidation, and we may suppose that originally Hampstead was the centre of a group of 10 or 15 hides which included "Rugmere" on the east and the Brondesbury end of "Wellsdone" on the west, while the rest of Wellsdone was grouped with Twyford. "Stanestaple" is not identified but must have been included in one or other of these groups. If its name points to a milestone on Watling Street, it would be near Cricklewood and connected with Hampstead.

At East Bedfont and Ickenham we have pretty examples of manor making. The former is a very simple case. In Edward's day 8½ out of 10 hides were held by Azor as a berewick of his neighbouring manor of Stanwell. Three socmen, one the man of Azor, one of the King, one of Leofwine, held half a hide apiece, "and they could sell or give, and they did not belong to the manor." Walter fitz Other rolled the whole ten hides into one manor; perhaps Azor was on the way to do the same. The history of Ickenham is more complicated. There were 15 hides in all; 3½ were probably held T.R.E. by Wigot, the other 11½ were in the hands of seven holders, "men" of at least five different lords, and all but one (the man of Asgar) "could sell." Of these 11½ hides Robert Fafiton got 2 and Geoffrey de Mandeville 3½; the other 6 and the 3½ held by Wigot were collected by Earl Roger into one estate which is rubricated as a "manor." He then proceeded to attach this estate to Colham, so that in 1086 "all this land (the 9½ hides) lies in Colham where it was not T.R.E.," and he also grafted into Colham in the same fashion 3 hides at Dawley, 1 in Harmondsworth and 1½ in Hatton. We may note that Dawley is like Ickenham still rubricated as a "manor" in 1086. It is also said of Dawley in the text "this *manor* lies in Colham," but little can be built upon that phrase, for we shall see in Herts and Bucks that in the latter part of the Domesday entries the term 'manor' is not used precisely.²

¹ Lysons under Wilsdon and West Twyford. Dugdale, Hist. of St. Paul's. p. 276. Newcourt, Repert. i. 54, 216. Hall, Domesday of St. Paul's p. iv. (Camden Soc. 69). East Twyford was attached by St Paul's ownership to the parish of Willesden. It descended to the Bretts, and

Mr. F. A. Wood, who was versed in the local history, told me it contained in 1818 Stonebridge, Lower Place and Ruckholt farms. West Twyford, which adjoins it, is marked by (modern) Twyford Abbey.

² See pp. 95, 140, 142 below.

Earl Roger seems to have received all that was Wigot's in Middlesex; his manors of Colham and Harlington, and the lands of his "men" at Dawley and Harmondsworth. So too Geoffrey de Mandeville succeeded to Asgar's manors of Enfield, Edmonton and Northolt, and to his "men" at Greenford and Ickenham¹; while Walter fitz Other succeeded Azor. On the other hand, of Ulward Wit's land, Ruislip went to Ernulf de Hesding, Kempton to the Count of Mortain, and at Ickenham the land of one man to Robert Fafiton and of two others to Earl Roger.

At Chingesberie (128 b 2) we have a pretty case of mortgage. That land was held T.R.E. by Alwin Horne '*in vadimonio de quodam homine St. Petri*' Westminster. The mortgagor was apparently one of those 'men' who 'could sell' or (f129 a) 'could do what he would' with his land.

*On the list of Middlesex hides in B.M. Add. MS. 14252 f126.*²

The original from which this list was derived must have been dilapidated, not only at the end, where a line running "Mimes 69 (or 70) hid." is missing, but also in the middle, where in 'Mimes' hundred the copyist has left three ratings blank. Moreover the first leaf with the whole hundred of Elthorn seems to have been lost. The copyist too was clumsy, for just after "Tiburne v hid. vs." he puts "Tuferd iiii xii d. hid."

In the hundred of Gore we have both difficulties; it runs thus.

" Harrow	100 hid.
" Kingsbury	10 hid.
" Stanmore	9 hid. [et dim.]
" terra com[itis]	6 hid. [et dim.]
" another Stanmore	9 hid. et dim.
" Hendon	20 hid.
" Total	149 hid."

The "terra commitis 6 hid.", which is not included in the total, was plainly a note in the original which has been copied into the text, while to agree with the total and with Domesday both Stanmores must have had $9\frac{1}{2}$ hides, but in one case the '*et dim.*' seems to have been obliterated. An '*et dim.*' seems also lost in the *terra comitis*, for it appears to be the $6\frac{1}{2}$ hides given by Domesday (129 a-b) as the Count of Mortain's demesne at Stanmore. This would date the list as not much later than 1106, when the Mortain lands were confiscated; the notes of "Abb," which mark in it the lands of Westminster, may have been added later.

Of the $219\frac{3}{4}$ hides given to the hundred of Ossulston by Domesday $28\frac{1}{4}$ are omitted, viz; $\frac{3}{4}$ at Stepney, which has only $50 + 4$ (Fafiton) + 5 (Bromley-at-Bow) against $59\frac{3}{4}$ in Domesday; $1\frac{1}{2}$ held in 1086 by Geoffrey de Mandeville apparently at Westminster-cum-Chelsea; and 26 held by St Paul's, viz. Rugmere 2, Tothele 5, St Pancras $4 + 1$, Islington 4, Newington 2, Hoxton 4 and Stanestaple 4. As the remaining total of $191\frac{1}{2}$ ($219\frac{3}{4} - 28\frac{1}{4}$) fits pretty closely into the amount of the Danegeld, these 26 hides appear to have been permanently freed from geld soon

¹ See the note on Surrey p. 14 above.

² Printed in Mr. Round's *Commune of London* p. 258.

after Domesday. Willesden, Harlesden and Twyford also held by St Paul's are given in the list.

The Danegeld is given as "Danegeld Middlesexe £85 and 6d." This agrees exactly with the Pipe Rolls of 1130 and 1155¹ and is therefore correct; it represents at 2s per hide, a total of $850\frac{1}{4}$ hides, and with this total the other figures must originally have agreed. Two sets of totals are given for the hundreds, agreeing approximately with Domesday except in Ossulston; one set as the (correct) '*summæ*' of the details, and the other at the end.

A. *with the details.*

Ossulston	191½ hid.
Isleworth	105
Spelthorn	110
Gore	149
Mimms	69 or 70
(Elthorn	missing)

B. *at the end.*

Ossulston	"cc et xi hid."
Spelthorn	110 hid.
Elthorn	224
Gore	149 et dim.
Isleworth	105
(Mimms	missing).

$$[624\frac{1}{2}-5\frac{1}{2}]^2$$

If we add to the $624\frac{1}{2}-5\frac{1}{2}$ hides of A, which do not include Elthorn, the 224 given to it by B, we get $848\frac{1}{2}-9\frac{1}{2}$ accounted for out of the correct $850\frac{1}{4}$. As "*summa summarum*" we are given "octies c et liii hid. et dim.," but the liii would seem to have been taken from xlvi or xlviii partly obliterated. The total of ccxi given to Ossulston in B seems also to have been miscopied from a half obliterated 'cxi et dim.', which is correctly given as the total of the details. The ccxi might be the first part of 'ccix hid. et iii virg.', the total of the hides given in Domesday, the rest having been obliterated, but $219\frac{3}{4}$ would not fit into the county total of $850\frac{1}{4}$ fixed by the Danegeld.

In Spelthorn hundred 15 hides out of the 110 are given to Feltham instead of the 10 (or 12)³ of 1086, but these 15 appear to include the 5 hides of Hatton, which is not named. Though Lysons does not suggest any connection between them, there seems no other room for Hatton, as the other ratings agree with Domesday⁴ and the twice repeated total of 110 fits into the Danegeld.⁵

¹ In 1130, paid £35. 2s., pardoned £49. 18. 6, in 1155, paid £39. 7. 6, pardoned £35. 13s, waste £10.

² There seem to be misprints in Mr. Round's calculation in the Commune of London p. 260.

³ See p. 80 above.

⁴ Ashford 1, Laleham 10, and Charlton 5 are included in the 35 hides of Staines to which the soc belonged.

⁵ It must however be said that the '*summa summarum* 853½ hid.' of the MS is just 5 more than the $848\frac{1}{2}$ accounted for under the hundreds.

SUMMARY OF THE HUNDREDS

HUNDREDS	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE		TEAMS		MEN			
			1065	1086	dem	men	vill	bord	cott	ser.
A Edmonton	70	60	116	128	10	50	139	49	61	14 A
B Elthorn	224 $\frac{1}{2}$	148	194	142	25	88	244	84	68	42 B
C Gore	149	109	101	76	13	63	166	20	15	5 C
D Hounslow	105	80	120	111	9	45	147	9	6	... D
E Ossulston	220	190	263	212	52	106	331	116	239	16 E
F Spelthorn	112	89	116	91	26	60	147	85	33	35 F
	880	676	910	760	135	412	1174	363 ^a	422 ^a	112
Others	868	664	911	754	545		1141	343	464	112

^a These figures include (as 16 villeins and 15 bordars) 43 entered in Isleworth and Fulham as 'villeins and bordars' without distinction, but exclude the 32 cotters of the king, 10 'at the Bishop's gate,' and 24 'men' at St. Pancras.

Diagram of the Hundreds.

EDMON-
 ELT- GORE -TON
 -HORN
 OSSULSTON
 SPELT-
 -HORN HOUNSLOW

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
X Geoff. d. Mandeville	Demesne (16 hid.)	X Asgar the staller X
Y do.	do. (14 hid.)	Y Asgar ; 5 socmen 6 hid. S ... Y
Z Countess Judith ...	Demesne ⁿ (2 car.) 2 frenchmen 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ hid.	Z Earl Wallef Z

HELETHORNE (ELTHORN)

A Abp Canterbury ...	Demesne (12 hid.) 3 knights 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.	A Abp Stigand... .. A
B Canons St Paul's ...	Demesne (5 hid.)	B Church of St. Paul B
C St. Trinity Rouen...	Dem. (8 h.) knt 2 hid.	C Harold; a socman 2 hid. L ... C
b Earl Roger	Two villeins	b Alwin man of Wigot S... .. b
D Ab. Westminster ...	Demesne (4 $\frac{1}{4}$ hid.)	D Church of St. Peter Westm. D
E do.	Dem. (5 h.) a french	man 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ hid.] do. E
b G. d. Mandeville ...	Gulbert {	b 2 socmen, one Canon of St Paul's } b
c do.	Ansgot	c 2 hid. S., one man of Asgar L } c
d King's alms.	Aelveve v.p. 93 Mc	d Azor man of Asgar L d
F Robert Gernon ...	Nigel	F Levric man of E. Lewin S ... F
b Abp Canterbury ...	G. d. Mandeville ...	b Turbert man of E. Lewin S F
G Ab. Westminster ...	Demesne (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	b Turbert do. do. L b
H Earl Roger	Demesne (6 hid.)	G Church of St. Peter Westm. G
I do.	Demesne (2 hid.) 2 frenchmen 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.	H Wigot ('of King Edward') ... H
K do.	Alnod	I Ulf a King's thegn S I
L do.	Alvred; Olaf	K Godwin Alsit m. of Wigot S K
M do.	3 knts ; 1 englishm.	L Wigot; a socman 2 hid. L ... L
b Robert Faliton ...	(? Demesne)	M [? Wigot]; four ⁿ men 6 h. S M
c G. d. Mandeville ...	Two englishmen ...	b Almer m. of Ulward Wit S b
N do.	Demesne (8 hid.)	c a socman man of Asgar 1 h. L c
O Ernulf d. Hesding...	Demesne (11 hid.)	a socman m. of E. Lewin 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ h. S
P Rich. f. Gilbert ...	Demesne (2 hid.)	N Asgar the staller N
Q Will. f. Ansculf ...	Hugh	O Ulward Wit King's thegn S O
		P Countess Goda P
		Q Turstin a King's thegn S ... Q

X. Pratum 26 car. et 25s. de superplus.

A berewick called 'Mimes.'

Y. De piscinis 8s, meadow 25s, wood and pasture 43s. A park.**Z.** In dom. 2 carucatæ terræ præter 5 hid. From a weir 3s. Value T.R.W. 25l 15s and 3 oz. gold.**A.** Silva 400 porc. et 3 sol.**B.** De uno gurgite 32d.**C.** From mills 500 eels, de piscinis 1000. One arpent of vineyard.**Cb.** Added to Colham (v.p.82)**Ec.** Terra 2 boum.**H.** One arpent of vineyard.

Mills shill.	Wood swide	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	cott	serv
10	2000	26 ^p	X Edmonton ⁿ <i>M</i> ... <i>Adelmetone</i>	35	26	40	20	40	4	22	52	17	14	4 X
10	2000	24 ^p	Y Enfield ⁿ <i>M</i> P ... <i>Enefelde</i>	30	24	50	20	50	4	16	57	20	30	6 Y
...	500	10 ^p	Z Tottenham ⁿ <i>M</i> P ... <i>Toteham</i>	5	10	26	10	38 ⁿ	2	12	30	12	17	4 Z
				70	60	116		128	10	50	139	49	61	14

HELETHORNE (ELTHORN)

4	400 ⁿ	1 ^p	A Hayes [M] P ... <i>Hesa</i>	59	40	40	12	30	2	26 ¹²	74	16	12	2 A
13 ⁵ ₁₂	...	1 ^p	B Drayton ⁿ <i>M</i> ... <i>Draitone</i>	10	6	8	6	6	1	5	8	7	2	... B
360	...	20 ^p	C Harmondsworth ⁿ <i>M</i> ... <i>in Hermodeswordeⁿ</i>	30	20	25	12	20	3	10 ⁷	24	6	7	6 C
...	...	...	b ... (1)	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	2	...	...	... b
2 ² ₁₂	50	1	D Hanwell <i>M</i> ... <i>Hanewelle</i>	8	5	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	4	5	6	4	2 D
...	300	...	E Greenford <i>M</i> ...	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	10	7	7	1 ¹	5	9	7	3	6 E
...	40	}	b in Greneforde ...	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	...	2	1 b
...	...	...	c in do. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{20}$	$\frac{3}{20}$	$\frac{3}{20}$	...	...	...	...	...	... c
...	...	...	d in do. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	...	...	...	... d
...	...	...	F in this hund. ...	2	1	1	$\frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	1	... F
...	20	...	b in Herges ...	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	$\frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{1}{20}$	...	1	1	...	4	... b
5	40	$\frac{1}{2}$	G Cowley Coulie ...	2	1	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	2	...	1	... G
2 $\frac{1}{2}$	46	400	3 H Colham ⁿ <i>M</i> P ... <i>Colcham</i>	10	8	7	10	6	8	3	3	10	10	4 8 H
...	1000	$\frac{1}{2}$	I Hillingdon <i>M</i> ... <i>Hillendone</i>	4	2	4	3	3	0 ¹	1	5	2	1	... I
...	15	$\frac{3}{4}$	K Dawley ⁿ <i>M</i> ... <i>Dallega</i>	3	2	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	4	4	...	... K
...	...	2	L Harlington <i>M</i> P ... <i>Herdintone</i>	10	6	8	5	5	2	3 ¹	16	2	8	1 L
...	200	4 ^p	M Ickenham <i>M</i> ...	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	6	4	4	...	4 ²	10	4	3	... M
...	30	1 ^p	b in Ticheham ...	2	1	2	2	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	...	...	...	... b
...	40	2 ^p	c in Ticheham ...	15	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	3	5	...	... c
...	200	...	N Northolt <i>M</i> P ... <i>Northala</i>	15	10	12	5	10	2	6 ²	22	...	3	6 N
...	500	...	O Ruislip ⁿ <i>M</i> P ... <i>Rislepe</i>	30	20	30	12	20	3	12 ⁵	29	7	8	4 O
15	1200	1 ^p	P Harefield ⁿ <i>M</i> P ... <i>Herefelle</i>	5	5	14	8	12	2	3	10	8	3	3 P
...	f	...	Q Cranford <i>M</i> P ... <i>Cranforde</i>	5	3	5	2	3	1	2	8	...	2	3 Q
				224 $\frac{1}{2}$	148	194		142	25	88	244	84	68	42

- I.** From a weir (guort) 5s; pratum 4 *bobus*.
K. Added to Colham (v.p.82); pratum 6 *boum*.
M. The 4 men T.R.E. were Tochi a housecarl; 2 socmen, men of Ulward; and Alwin man of Ulsi f. Manne.
O. *Parcus ferarum silvaticarum*.
P. From 4 *piscinae* 1000 cels.

	P		
		M	O
	I		N
G	H	A	E
	B	K	D
	C	L	Q

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Abp Canterbury ...	Demesne (30 <i>hid.</i>) 3 <i>knights</i> 6 <i>hid.</i>	A Earl Lewin A
B Ab. Westminster...	Demesne (10 <i>hid.</i>)	B Church of St. Peter Westm. B
C do. ...	Will. chamberlain	C do. C
b Ernulf d. Hesding	Aldbold	b Ulward Wit a King's thegn b
D C. of Mortain ...	Demesne (6½ <i>hid.</i>)	D Edwer Atule a King's thegn D
b Rog. d. Rames ...	Demesne (4 <i>hid.</i>)	b Algar man of Harold S ... b

HONESLOU (HOUNSLOW)

A Walt. d. St. Walery	Demesne (6½ <i>hid.</i>) 2 <i>knights</i> 4 <i>hid.</i> ⁿ	A Earl Algar A
B do.	Demesne (18 <i>hid.</i>)	B do. B

OSULUESTANE (OSSULSTON)

A Robert Fafiton ...	(? Demesne)	A Sired Canon of St. Paul's S A
b Rob. f. Rozelin ⁿ ...	Demesne (2 <i>hid.</i>)	b Alwin Stichehare (M) m. of K. S b
c Bp of London ...	Demesne (14 <i>hid.</i>)	c de episcopatu c
d do. ...	Hugh d. Berners...	d Can. Sired 2½ h. S; Canons ⁿ 2½ h. d <i>Doding of Bp 1 virg. and mill</i>
e do. ...	Brien's Wife ... Roger (<i>sheriff</i>) ½ <i>hid.</i>	e Bishop William e
f do. ...	Ranulf Flambard...	f Godwin of Bp William L ... f
g do. ...	William d. Ver ...	g Bishop William g
h do. ...	Canon Englebric...	h Engelbric of Bp William L h
i do. ...	Bp of Lisieux ...	i Bishop William i
k do. ...	Will. chamberlain	k do. k
l do. ...	Alvric Chacepul ...	l do. l
m do. ...	Edmund f. Algot	and Alwin f. Britmar m
B do. ...	Dem. (13 h.) <i>frenchn.</i> and <i>citizens</i> 23 <i>hid.</i> ⁿ	B de episcopatu B
b do. ...	Fulchered	b 2 socm. m. of Bp. William L b
c Canons St. Paul's...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)	c Canons of St. Paul's c

GORE HUNDRED

- B.** Silva 1000 porc. et 10s.
D. From herbage 12*d.*
Db. Pastura ad pecuniam villæ et 2s.

HOUNSLOW HUNDRED

- A.** From 1½ weir 12s 8*d*; herbage 12*d.* The tenants of 6 hides were 'milites probati,' one french, one english.
B. 'De sagenis et tractis' in Thames 3s.

Mills shill.	Wood swine	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS dem men	MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086		vill	bor	cott	serv
...	2000	...	A Harrow [M] P ... <i>Herges</i>	100	70	60	20	56	4 ⁵ 45 ¹⁶	109	...	2	2 A
...	1000	$\frac{1}{4}$	B Hendon ⁿ M P ... <i>Handone</i>	20	16	12	8	8	3 8 ⁵	26	12	6	1 B
...	200	...	C Kingsbury ...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 1	5	...	1	... C
3	1000	$\frac{1}{2}$	b in Chingesberie M P 10	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	6	1	4	2 5	11	5	...	... b
...	800	...	D Stanmore ⁿ M P ...	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	10	$\frac{1}{2}$	3	2 ¹ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	...	6	... D
...	800	p ⁿ	b Stanmera ⁿ M...	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	10	1	3	1 ² 3 ¹	9	3	...	2 b
				149	109	101		76	13 63 $\frac{1}{2}$	166	20	15	5

HONESLOU (HOUNSLOW)

² 10	500	20 ^p	A Isleworth ⁿ [M] P ... <i>Gistelesword</i>	70	?	55	80	72	72	6 28 ¹¹	93	...	6	... A
...	...	3 ^p	B Hampton ⁿ M <i>Hamntone</i>	35	25	40	39	39	3 17 ⁵	41	?	13	?	... B
				105	80	120		111	9 45	147	9	6	...	

OSULUESTANE (OSSULSTON)

...	60		A in Stepney ⁿ M	...	4 ⁿ	3	8	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	...	2	1	...	A	
...	f	2	b in Stibenhed ⁿ	...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	4	$\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	8	4	...	b
95 $\frac{2}{3}$	500	25 ^p	c Stepney ⁿ [M] Stibenhede	...	32	25	50	48	48	3	22	60	...	46	...	c
66 $\frac{2}{3}$	150	4 ^p	d in do. ⁿ (M)	...	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	7	6	6	1	3	7	2	3	...	d
...	60	p ⁿ	e in do.	...	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	3	3	1	0 ¹	2	15	...	...	e
...	f	2 ⁿ	f in do. ⁿ	...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	5	4	4	2	3	...	14	...	...	f
...	...	...	g in do.	...	1	1	1	$\frac{4}{5}$	$\frac{4}{5}$	1	...	...	...	...	...	g
...	...	...	h in do.	...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	1	...	1	4	1	...	h
...	...	...	i in do.	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	2	3	...	i
...	...	...	k in do.	...	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	6	...	...	k
...	...	...	l in do.	...	59 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	1	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	...	...	...	l
² 52 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	m in do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	m
...	1000	40 ^p	B Fulham ⁿ M in Fuleham	...	40	40	50	40	40	4	26 ¹⁰	52	...	30	...	B
...	300	$\frac{1}{8}$ p	b in do.	...	5	3	5	3	3	1	1 ¹	[16]	[15 ⁿ	7	...	b
...	150	5 ^p	c in do. ⁿ M...	50	5	5	10	8	8	2	2 ¹	15	7	16	2	c

OSSULSTON HUNDRED

A. Also 53 a. added by Hugo de Berners.**Ab.** Claimed by the Bishop of London.**Ac.** Silva 500 porc. et 40s.**Ad.** Silva 150 porc. et 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ s. The canons land T.R.E. was 'de dominico victu.'**Ae.** From pasture 5s.**Af.** From meadow 2s. No pasture.**B.** De $\frac{1}{2}$ gurgite 10s; Silva 1000 porc. et 17d; '31 villeins and bordars *manent*' on the 23 hides.**Bc.** Surveyed in 1222 as 'Sutton', Dom. of St. P.

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086		UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065	
C	Canons St Paul's ...	The villeins	C	Canons of St. Paul's C
D	do. ...	(?Demesne) <i>v.p.</i> 134	D	do. D
E	do. ...	(?Demesne)	E	do. E
F	do. ...	The villeins	F	do. F
b	do. ...	Canon Walter	b	do. b
G	do. ...	Canon Ralf	G	do. G
H	"Of the King" ? ...	Canon Durand	H	? H
b	Canons St. Paul's...	Canon Gueri... ..	b	Canons of St. Paul's b
I	do. ...	The villeins	I	do. I
K	do. ...	(?Demesne)	K	do. K
b	do. ...	The villeins	b	do. b
c	G. de Mandeville ...	Gulbert	c	Grim man of the King S ... c
d	Derman d. London	(?Demesne)	d	Algar man of the King S ... d
L	Canons St. Paul's...	(?Demesne)	L	Canons of St. Paul's L
M	do. ...	The villeins	M	do. M
b	do. ...	The villeins	b	do. b
N	Robert Gernon ...	villeins & bordars	N	Alwin man of the King S ... N
O	Ranulf bro. Ilger ...	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>)	O	Edwin man of the King S ... O
P	Ab. of Barking ...	Demesne (2 <i>hid.</i>)	P	The church of Barking ... P
Q	Ab. Westminster ...	Demesne (3½ <i>hid.</i>)	Q	Church of St. Peter Westm. Q
b	do. ...	Ranulf Pevrel ...	b	do. b
R	do. ...	Demesne (9¼ <i>hid.</i>)	R	do. R
b	do. ...	Bainiard	b	do. b
S	Ed. d. Salisbury ...	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>)	S	Wlwene man of the King S S
b	G. de Mandeville...	Ralf	b	Two King's socmen b
T	do. ⁿ ...	Demesne ⁿ (5 <i>hid.</i>)	T	Harold son of Earl Ralf ⁿ ... T
U	Bp. of Coutances...	Aubrey de Ver ...	U	Edwin King's thegn (130 b 2) U
W	King's alms	Eideva... (4½ <i>hid.</i>)	W	Edwin f. Suan m. of K. S ... W

The King has 12½ a. of "Nomansland;" also 30 cotters paying 14s. 10½*d.* and in Holborn 2 cotters paying 20*d.*; St. Paul's has also 10 cotters paying 18s. 6*d.*

E. From herbage 20s. **F.** From past. 22*d.* **R.** A cotter of 5a. and 41 paying 'pro ortis' 40s; 25 houses 'militum Abbatis et aliorum hominum' paying 8s.
F^b 24 'men' paying 30s.
G. Nemus ad sepes et 4s.
GHI. See p. 82.
O. From wood 5s. **P.** From pasture 40*d.* **Rb.** 4 arpens vineyard, newly planted.
S. From wood 5s. **T.** 3 arpens vineyard.

Mills shill.	Wood swine	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	cott	serv
...	500	...	C Willesden (M) ... <i>Wellsdone</i>	15	15	12	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{3}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{3}{4}$	...	8 ⁷	25	5	...	C
...	100	...	D Harlesden M ... <i>Herulvestune</i>	5	4	4	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	22	...	...	D
...	150	0 ⁿ	E Tottenham Court M ... <i>Totehele</i>	5	4	5	4	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	4	4	...	E
...	f	p ⁿ	F at St Pancras M ...	4	2	3	2	2	...	1 ¹	4	...	7	F
...	...	...	b ad S. Pancrallium ⁿ 5	5	1	[1 $\frac{1}{2}$]	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	...	...	b
...	f ⁿ	...	G Rugmere v.p. 82 ... <i>Rugemere</i>	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	G
...	100	p	H in Twyford ⁿ ...	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	[1 $\frac{1}{2}$]	3	...	...	H
...	50	...	b in Tueverde (M) ...	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	1	3	b
...	150	p	I in Stanestaple ⁿ ...	10	4	2	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	7	...	I
...	...	...	K Islington ...	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	...	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	3	...	...	K
...	...	...	b in Isendone ...	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	4	13	b
...	...	...	c in do. ...	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	1	...	...	c
...	...	...	d in do. ...	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	...	...	...	d
...	...	...	L Newington ... <i>in Newtone</i>	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	...	37	L
...	...	p	M Hoxton M ...	3	3	3	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	...	3	7	...	16	M
...	...	...	b in Hochestone ...	1	1	1	...	1	...	1	3	...	...	b
...	...	...	N Haggerston M ... <i>in Hergateslane</i>	2	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	...	3	3	7	...	N
...	60 ⁿ	p	O Tollington (Pk) ... <i>Tolentone</i>	10	2	2	3	2	1	2	5	2	1	O
...	50	p ⁿ	P Tyburn M ... <i>Tiburne</i>	5	5	3	5	2 $\frac{3}{5}$	2 $\frac{3}{5}$	1	2	3	2	P
...	100	...	Q Hampstead M ... <i>in Hamestede</i>	4	3	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 ¹	1	5	...	Q
...	...	...	...	5	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	b
...	100	11 ^p	R Westminster ⁿ M ...	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	11	12	10	10	4	6	19	...	42	R
...	100	p	b in do. ⁿ ...	3	2	6	1	3	2	...	...	...	1	b
...	60 ⁿ	2 ^p	S Chelsea ⁿ M ... <i>Chelched</i>	2	5	9	9	9	2	1 ²	6	3	...	S
...	f	1 ^p	b in this hund. ...	20	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	4	...	b
...	...	8 ^p	T Ebury ⁿ M ... <i>Eia</i>	10	8	12	6	8	2	5 ¹	19	4	1	T
...	200	2 ^p	U Kensington M ^p ... <i>Chenesit</i>	10	10	10	6	10	4	5 ¹	18	...	...	U
...	100	1 ^p ⁿ	W Lisson (Grove) ... <i>Lilestane</i>	5	3	2	3	3	2	1	4	...	3	W
				219 $\frac{3}{4}$	190	263		212	52	106	331	116	239	16

T. Queen Edith 'custodiebat' Harold and the manor; afterwards William the chamberlain held of the Queen 'de feudo' for 4*l*, and after her death of the King. William has lost it and the King's rent (12*l*) is not paid.

Diagram
C O G E
H D W F K OL
U P Lon- MN
B STR -don A

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065	
A Ab. Westminster...	Demesne (4 hid.)	A Church of St. Peter Westm.	A
B do. ...	Demesne (3½ hid.)	B do.	B
C do. ...	Demesne (11 hid.)	C do.	C
D C. of Mortain ...	(? Demesne) ...	D Alvríc m. of Ab. Chertsey S	D
E do. ...	Ab. of Fescamp ...	E Ab. of Westminster in <i>Staines</i> <i>præfectus de Stanes L</i>	E
b Robert Blount ...	Estrild nun (4 hid.)	b Achi King's housecarl S ...	b
F Rog. d. Rames ...	Demesne (4½ hid.)	F 2 bros. m. of Stigand & Lewin S ⁿ	F
G Earl Roger ...	Robert ...	G Ulf King's housecarl ...	G
H C. of Mortain ...	Demesne (2½ hid.)	H Ulward Wit King's thegn S	H
I do. ...	Demesne (6 hid.)	I 2 thegns, one m. of King 5 h. M S, the other m. of Harold 7 hid. M S	I
K do. ...	(? Demesne) ... <i>a knight ½ hid.</i>	K Gouti Harold's housecarl S	K
b Walt. f. Other ...	Walt. d. Mucedent	b Brithmar m. of Harold 4 h. S 2 socmen men of Azor 4 h. L	b
c do. ...	Richard ... <i>a knight 2 hid.</i>	c Azor 8½ h. ⁿ ; 3 socmen 1½ h. S ⁿ men of King, Lewin & Azor	c
L do. ...	Demesne (3 hid.) <i>2 knights 2½ hid.</i>	L Azor King's housecarl S ...	L
M do. ...	Walt. d. Mucedent	M 2 socmen m. of Azor L ...	M
b Earl Roger ...	Two villeins ...	b 2 socm. m. of Albert Lothar. L	b
c King's alms. ...	Aelveve ⁿ ...	c Alwin albus m. of Lewin S...	c
d St. Trinity, Rouen	Hertald of King ...	d Goldin man of Harold L ...	d

C. Also 46 burghers paying 40s. A wear (guort) pays 6s 8d; another nothing; 2 arpents vineyard. Four berewicks T.R.E. and T.R.W.

D. 'Now added to Kempton.' The soc lay T.R.E. in Staines.

Eb and **F.** The T.R.E. holders 'could sell, but the soc belonged to Staines.'

Kc. The 8½ hid. held by Azor T.R.E. were berewick of Stanwell. The socmen 'did not belong T.R.E. to the manor,' but their 1½ hides seem part of the 10 hides.

Mills shill.	Wood swine	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q. R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	cott	serv
...	...	6 ^p	A Sunbury <i>M^p</i> ... <i>Suneberie v.p.80</i>	7	6	7	6	6	1	4	10	5	5	1 A
...	...	7 ^p	B Sheperton <i>M^p</i> ... <i>Scperlone</i>	15	8	7	7	6 ³ / ₄ 6 ³ / ₄	1	6	17	...	5	2 B
64	30	24 ^p	C Staines ⁿ <i>M</i> ... <i>Stanes</i>	19	24	40	35	35	13	11	16	58	8	12 C
...	...	1	D Ashford ⁿ ... <i>in Exeфорde</i>	20	1	1	1	1 ⁴ / ₂ 1 ⁴ / ₂	...	...	...	...	...	D
...	...	1 ¹ / ₂ ^p	E Laleham <i>in Leleham</i>	2	1 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	2	...	1 ¹ / ₂	6	...	7	E
...	...	5 ^p	b in do. <i>Mⁿ</i>	10	8	5	6	2 3	1	4	8	3	3	b
...	...	4 ^p	F Charlton <i>Mⁿ</i> ... <i>Cerdentone</i>	5	4	5	3	1 ¹ / ₂	1	2 ¹ / ₂	1	1	...	6 F
...	...	1 ^p	G Hanworth <i>M</i> ... <i>Haneworde</i>	5	3	3	2	2	1 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	8	...	2	G
...	...	5 ^p	H Kempton <i>M</i> ... <i>Chencelone</i>	5	5	6	3	4	1 ¹	3	14	3	...	2 H
...	...	10 ^p	I Feltham <i>M</i> ... <i>Feltham v.p.80</i>	12	10	8	4	6	1 ³	8	19	...	...	2 I
...	...	1 ⁸ / ₂ ^p	K Bedfont ⁿ ... <i>in Bedefunt</i>	2	1	1	1 ¹ / ₄	1 ¹ / ₄	1 ¹ / ₂	...	1	...	...	K
...	...	1 ⁴ / ₄ ^p	b in WestBedef. <i>M^p</i>	10	8	4	6	3 3	1	3	6	1	1	2 b
...	...	1 ⁴ / ₄ ^p	c in Bedefunde <i>Mⁿ</i> ...	10	5	6	1	4	1	4	8	3	...	c
4	70	100 12 ^p	L Stanwell ⁿ [<i>M</i>] ... <i>Stanwelle</i>	15	10	14	6	14	3	10	27	10	2	8 L
...	...	1 ^p	M in Hatton ...	1 ⁵ / ₆	1	1 ¹ / ₂	1	1	...	1 ¹ / ₂	3	1	...	M
...	...	1	b in Ha(i)lone ⁿ ...	1 ¹ / ₂	1	1	3 ⁴ / ₄	3 ⁴ / ₄	...	1	2	...	...	b
...	...	1 ¹ / ₂ ^p	c in this hund. ⁿ ...	4 ⁴ / ₆	1 ¹ / ₂	4	2 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	c
...	...	1 ¹ / ₂	d in do. ...	5	1	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	...	1 ¹ / ₂	1	...	...	d
				112	89	116	91	26	60	147	85	33	35	

K. 'Lay and lies in Feltham.'**L.** From mills 375 eels, from wears 1000.**Mb.** Added to Colham (in Elthorn) 'where it was not T. R. E.'**Mc.** Aelweve was wife of Wateman de London.
Terra 4 *bobus*.

Diagram

		M
L	K	
DC	I	G
E	F	H
	B	A

NOTE ON THE TABLES FOR HERTFORDSHIRE

So many vills in Hertfordshire were even in 1086 divided between several tenants-in-chief, that it has been impracticable in arranging the vills of each hundred to follow even roughly the order of the Domesday fiefs. It has been possible to some extent to place the Church Estates, which are often whole vills, at the beginning of each hundred, but even that has been given up in Edwinstree. The same cause and the still greater subdivision of the north-eastern half of the county in Saxon times have led to the tables being somewhat crowded, but this crowding, though inconvenient, represents not badly the condition of the county in respect of socmen or other small owners. In general style and arrangement the survey of Herts is similar to that of Middlesex which precedes and to that of Bucks which follows it in Domesday Book. In all three the entries say nothing of churches, but give a fuller account of the T.R.E. holders than is found in Surrey and Berkshire, where we may well suspect that there were a good many more socmen in 1065 than are mentioned. All three give the hides 'in demesne' on lands held by tenants-in-chief themselves without under-tenants—a point which will be considered in the note on Buckinghamshire (p. 134).

But Hertfordshire does not give either (1) the detail of the villein holdings which is found in Middlesex, or as a rule (2) the *M* rubrics which are common both in that county and in Bucks. Both these features, however, may very probably have existed in the original returns for all three counties. As to (1), detail of the villein holdings is found in one Herts entry, that for Sawbridgeworth on f 139 b 2, and (140 a-b) a trace of it at 'Hailet.' There seems to be also a trace of it on f 149 a 2 at 'Evreham' in Bucks. Another entry in Herts on f 139 a 2 for land in Hertford hundred preserves some detail of live stock, and both the villein holdings and the live stock are found in the surveys of Hatfield, Hadam and Kelshall given in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, which were apparently derived from the original returns of 1086.¹ Both therefore seem likely to have been given in the original return for Hertfordshire and perhaps also in that for Bucks.

As to (2), the *M* rubric does occur occasionally in Hertfordshire, but it is rare. Clearly the compiler did not in this county intend to rubricate the 'manors' generally, for there are only eight cases of it; but there

¹ D.B. iv 509. V.H. i 263. It is curious that the 2 hides held freely at Hatfield by Adam fitz

Robert fitz William are entirely omitted in Domesday.

seems no special reason for the rubric in any one of them, and it is difficult to see how it can have got into Domesday Book unless the *M* occurred generally or frequently in the original return and was occasionally copied by mistake like the detail at Sawbridgeworth. In ten other cases an estate is said to be held '*pro uno manerio*.' These cases of rubric and 'for a manor' have been marked *M* and *M* respectively in the tables, but under the circumstances it is useless to distinguish the estates which are spoken of as 'manors' in the T.R.E. part of the entries, as has been done in the tables for Middlesex and Bucks (pp. 79, 140). In this T.R.E. part of the entries the terms "manor" and "land" seem to be used loosely, without any intention of giving them a technical meaning (p. 142). 'Hainstone' and Brickendon (139 b 1, 140 b 1) are both said to be held in 1086 "*pro uno manerio*," but both are spoken of as "land" at the end of the entry. Watton (Wadtone, 5 hides, 142 a 2) is called "land" in its proper entry, but spoken of as a "manor" ten lines later. Ten hides at Aston and five at Barwith (134 a 2, 138 a 1) are spoken of as "land," though we can hardly doubt that they were as much manors as any other five or ten-hide estates. On the other hand several estates of two hides or less and one at Wakeley of only forty acres (137 a 1) are spoken of as "manors" T.R.E. Still on the whole the larger estates are spoken of as "manors" and the smaller ones as "land."

Both Herts and Middlesex differ from Bucks in other points. In the two former counties cotters are given as well as bordars, "pasture for cattle" is noticed as well as meadow, priests or freemen or knights¹ are constantly mentioned among the holders of the men's teams in conjunction with the villeins and bordars, and eels are drawn from '*gurgites*.'² In Bucks we find no cotters except those attached to the church of Buckingham, no 'pasture' except at Buckingham, no mention of priest or free-man among the team-holders except on f145 b 1 at Weston, and eels come from '*piscaria*.' Cotters may not have been distinguished from bordars in the original return and possibly pasture may not have been noticed there, but the exceptions at Weston and Buckingham rather suggest that the omission of priests and freemen among the team-holders and perhaps that of pasture was due to the compiler at Winchester.

The surveys in Domesday Book of Middlesex and Herts may have been done by the same compiler, the more elaborate detail of the former having been dropped as too cumbrous to be continued, just as the still greater detail of Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk was dropped in the rest of Domesday.³ Bucks was apparently not compiled by the same clerk, for a compiler who had done Herts, though he might drop the pasture and the priests, would hardly return in Bucks to the *M* rubric which he had already abandoned in Herts. If for any special reason he did return to the use of that rubric, it would be used carefully, which is certainly not the case in Bucks as we shall see when we get to that county (p. 141). On the other hand a compiler who had done Bucks first would not return in Herts to the insertion of pasture and priests or to the use of '*gurses*' for '*piscaria*.' We shall also find when we come to Bucking-

¹ These frenchmen, socmen and knights are marked in the tables by *f*, *s* and *k* under the figures for the 'men's teams,' which also include the share of the priest who is marked by *P* against

the place names.

² In Middlesex we have sometimes '*guort*.'

³ Round, Feudal England p. 141.

hamshire that the rubrication of the hundreds in that county is much more careless than in Hertfordshire (p. 130). The similarity of the general style and arrangement in all three counties seems to suggest that the original returns had been taken by the same commissioners with the same clerical staff; if so cotters were probably given separately in the original returns for Bucks but afterwards treated as bordars, either in Domesday Book by the compiler or perhaps in a digest of the original returns prepared by the secretary to the commission (p. 12).

In Hertfordshire the hundred-rubric is lacking at the head of no less than ten fiefs, but this is so common as to suggest that it was intentional; otherwise the rubric is rarely missed. Hertford hundred should have been set against Hodesdone on f137 b 1, Hiz on f138 a 2 against Peritone (instead of a note at the end of the entry), and probably also on f139 a 1 against Offelei. On f137 a 2 the Edwinstree rubric should be above, not below, the entry for Anstey, and Mr. Corbett points out that the end of the Mortain fief from Hemel Hempstead should be in Danais not in Tring. The hundreds in each fief follow each other in the order shown (except Hertford) by the fief of the Bishop of Bayeux, viz:—

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1. Tring | 4. Broadwater | 7. Hiz |
| 2. Danais | 5. Odsey | 8. Hertford |
| 3. Albanstou | 6. Edwinstree | 9. Braughing |

There are exceptions. Peter de Valonges has Odsey after Edwinstree. The Bishop of Chester has $\frac{1}{2}$ hide in Broadwater after Odsey; perhaps this was a fragment omitted in its proper place and added as an appendix. A more eccentric case is that of St. Alban's, which has the order 3, 4, 2, 3, 5, 7, but the double mention of Albanstou shows that there is here something exceptional. On the whole the order is regular enough to give us pretty good evidence that the original return was arranged by hundreds as it was in Cambridgeshire, where we have the evidence of the I.C.C., and in Bucks where the order of the hundreds is very clearly fixed.

Mr. Ragg points out to me still further evidence that the original return for Herts was, like the Cambridgeshire Inquisition, arranged hundred by hundred and vill by vill, for not only the hundreds, but also villages follow each other in the same order in different fiefs; for example in Braughing hundred we have

Mandeville; Stanstead, Sawbridgeworth, Thorley, Wickham
G. de Bech; Stanstead, Eastwick, Wickham
Bp of London; Stortford, Thorley, Wickham

In the hundred of Edwinstree the fiefs of (1) Hardwin de Scalers, of (2) the Bishop of Bayeux, and of (3) Count Eustace, run thus:

- (1) Barley, Helsangre, Hoddenho, Throcking, Ichetone, Wakeley, Barkseden
(2) Barley, Helsangre, Hoddenho, Throcking, Ichetone.
(3) Throcking, Ichetone, Barkseden, Wakeley

In Odsey the fiefs of (1) Hardwin, (2) the Bishop of Bayeux, (3) Earl Alan and (4) Geoffrey de Mandeville, run:

- (1) Luffenhall, Clothall, Wallington, Ordewell, Reed, Ashwell, Hainsteworde.
(2) Luffenhall, Clothall, Ordewelle, Reed.
(3) Clothall, Wallington, Reed.
(4) Wallington, Ashwell, Hainstone.

The hundred of Broadwater is particularly interesting.

<i>William</i>	<i>Bp. of</i>	<i>Robert</i>	<i>Pet. de</i>	<i>Geoffrey</i>	<i>King's</i>
<i>de Ow</i>	<i>Bayeux</i>	<i>Gernon</i>	<i>Valonges</i>	<i>de Bech</i>	<i>Thegns.</i>
			Datchworth	Datchworth	
				Welge	Welge
		Ayot	... ..	... ..	Ayot
Graveley	Graveley	Graveley	Graveley		
		Scelva	Escelveia	Scelve	
		Wlwenwiche	Wlwenwiche		
	Wymondley	Wymondley			
Wilga	... ..	Welga	... ..	Wilie	
Box	Box	Box	Box		
	Stotles	Stotles	Stotles		
	(Munden)			Rodehangre	Rodehangre
			Sacomb		Sacomb

Here the Domesday order enables us to distinguish 'Welge' placed between Datchworth and Ayot, from 'Wilga' and 'Welga' placed between Wymondley and Box. 'Welge' is plainly Welwyn, which lies between Datchworth and Ayot St. Peters, while 'Wilga' and 'Welga' are evidently the same place as 'Wilie' now Willian close to Wymondley. The $\frac{1}{2}$ hide in 'Wilge' held by the Bishop of Chester is shown by the 5-hide grouping to be Willian. The order also associates Wlwenwiche and Scelve with the neighbourhood of Graveley.

Nearly all the places in Hertfordshire are identified in the Victoria History and the exceptions are unimportant. The 'Scenlei' (1 hide) of the Mortain fief appears, however, to be some lost place near Tring or Tiscot, not Shenley, which was in Danaïs and having $14\frac{3}{4}$ hides gives no room for another hide; while 'Bure' in the same fief seems from the grouping of Tring hundred to be near Berkhamstead rather than Boorcroft near Tiscot. In Edwinstree 'Lewarewiche' was near Hadam, and 'Summersle,' 'Sapeham' and 'Langeport' were probably near Buntingford, for the order of Domesday seems to suggest they were not far from 'Bordesdene,' now Boreson, Wakeley and Berkesden.¹ In Odsey hundred 'Hainstone' ($2\frac{5}{8}$ hid.) was probably a variation or hamlet of 'Hainsteworde' ($5\frac{3}{8}$ hid.) now Hinxworth. Both as we have seen follow Ashwell in Domesday, their assessments dovetail neatly together, and by its tenants, Germund and Lemar, 'Hainstone' is connected with Ashwell and Caldecote, which are near Hinxworth. 'Theunge,' (135 a 2) is puzzling. It is generally identified with 'Teuuinge' now Tewin, which stands for $5\frac{1}{2}$ hides in the hundred of Hertford; but in 1086 'Theunge' was clearly in Broadwater, it is described as a herdwick of Stevenage, and its $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides do not fit into the $5\frac{1}{2}$ of Tewin. It may be some lost place near Stevenage, Wymundley or possibly Munden, where there is a deficiency. The 2 hides of 'Ordswelle' seem to fit into the 13 of Reed, but Orwellbury is in the very middle of the parish of Kelshall, which is separated from Reed by Tharfield, while Kelshall has a neat 5 hides of its own. If therefore 'Ordswelle' is Orwellbury, it looks as if 3 of the 13 hides of Reed must have belonged originally and locally to Kelshall-cum-Orwellbury.

¹ D.B. 133 a b; 137 a 1, b 1, 138 a 1, 141 b 2.

Three of the places surveyed under Herts are well inside Bedfordshire, viz, $3\frac{1}{4}$ hides at Meppershall near Shefford, given in Herts without a hundred rubric as the only estate of Gilbert fitz Salomon; $\frac{1}{2}$ hide in Polehanger close to it, held by Robert d'Oily, apparently in Tring hundred; and the king's manor of Westone, now Westoning (Weston lng). Weston(ing) had been attached before the conquest to Hitchin, but as it still payed its 'wara' in Bedfordshire, it must have originally belonged to that county, to which it returns in the Testa de Nevill (p. 243). The $\frac{1}{2}$ hide at Polehanger seems to have been dragged out of Beds and attached to Tiscot by Robert d'Oily, who had no other land near it. Meppershall is puzzling, as 4 hides there in 1086 paid geld in Beds and $3\frac{1}{4}$ in Herts, the whole $7\frac{1}{4}$ being held in 1065 by Lewin cilt.¹ The $3\frac{1}{4}$ hides were locally in Meppershall, for part of Meppershall has down to modern times been a detached piece of Hertfordshire, and though in 1086, probably in 1065, they paid geld in Herts, it is difficult to think that they originally belonged there. They may have been attached as a herdwick or herewick to Kensworth or Caddington in Danais hundred just inside Herts, which were also held by Lewin. Barwith, given as in Danais hundred, is attached to the Bedfordshire parish of Studham, but as it lies just on the border line we may suppose that it was from the first in Herts, where it remained till a few years ago, when it was removed to Bedfordshire under an Act of Parliament.

The 5-hide system is plain enough all through the county. In a good many cases there is a fractional excess over the neat multiple of 5, but it is natural enough that some of the small holdings should be counted twice over—first in the village where the land lay and again in some manor of the great man to whom the small holder was commended. The hundreds work out thus :—

Albanstou	}	$218\frac{3}{8}$	say	220^2	Braughing	$117\frac{1}{2}$	say	120^4
Danais					Odsey	$116\frac{1}{4}$		
Tring		$99\frac{1}{2}$		100	Edwinstree	$122\frac{3}{4}$		240-5
Hitchin		$62\frac{3}{4}$		65	Hertford	$139\frac{1}{4}$		140
Broadwater		231		$230\cdot5^3$		1108		1115-25
Excluded though mentioned in Domesday					Weston(ing)	5	in Beds	
					Meppershall	$3\frac{1}{4}$	in Beds	
					Polehanger	$\frac{1}{2}$	—	
					Newsell	$4\frac{1}{8}$	duplicated ⁵	

If the correct total of the county was 1120^6 and if Middlesex had 880 hides, the total for the two counties was a round 2000.

Between 1165 and 1086 there had been reductions in the hundreds of Danais and Tring amounting to $49\frac{1}{8}$ hides, viz ;

¹ D.B. 216 b 2. "Malperteselle pro 4 hid. se defend. in Bedeforde scire. In Hereforde scire ipsa villa se defend. pro 3 hid. et 1 virg."

² Includes 10 at Paul's Walden, probably once in Hitchin.

³ It looks as if Munden had annexed 2, $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 hides from Westmill in Braughing.

⁴ At Standon (11 hides), held T.R.E. by Abp Stigand, if the xi is not a slip for x, one of the six socmen with 1 hide apiece had probably

been stolen from elsewhere.

⁵ This entry on f139 a 1 is imperfect and appears to have been a mistake which was to be cancelled, the real entry (of $5\frac{1}{8}$ hides) being made at the head of the next column.

⁶ Mr. Corbett, R. Hist. Soc. Trans. (1900) N.S. xiv 200, counts 1118 and corrects 1120, including in both not only Meppershall and Polehanger, but also Westoning.

St. Albans	Apsbury	from 3	to $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.
"	Ab. Langley	$5\frac{1}{2}$	to 3
Count Eustace	Tring	(39 or) 32	to $5\frac{1}{4}$
Rob. de Toden	Misswell	14	to $3\frac{5}{8}$
Ralf de Toden	Flamstead	4	to 2
Ed. de Salisbury	Gaddesden	6	to 3
Robert d'Oily	Tiscot	4	to 2
		$68\frac{1}{2}$	$19\frac{3}{8}$

The Pipe Roll of 1130 accounts for 1100 $\frac{5}{8}$ hides, without the 5 hides of Hertford which in 1130 had ceased to pay geld, but including 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ at Meppershall, which is not included in our total of 1115-25. Now 1115-25 *plus* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ is 1118-28 $\frac{1}{4}$, so that the reduction shown in the Pipe Roll is at most 28 hides instead of the 49 of 1086. At least 20 hides or, allowing for Hertford, 25 hides of the reductions of 1065-86 appear to have been cancelled between 1086 and 1130. Perhaps the whole of the reduction at Tring had been cancelled, for between 1086 and 1130 there would probably have been some new remissions.

The proportion of hides to teamlands varies as usual from vill to vill, but on the whole the assessment is heavier in the south than in the north of the county. South of the Lea the number of hides is not very much below the number of teamlands, but the teamlands are nearly double the hides in Odsey and Braughing, more than double in Edwinstree, and three times the hides in Hiz; the last however was an exceptional hundred. The teamlands are carefully accounted for; as in Middlesex and Bucks both the existing teams are given and those which 'could be made,' the two together being in nine cases out of ten exactly equal to the number of teamlands. In some small holdings the teams are not apportioned between the demesne and the 'men;' such teams have been dealt with as described in the note to Bucks (p. 135).

The villeins are distributed pretty evenly through the county, but the north-eastern hundreds of Braughing and Edwinstree differ from the south-western hundreds in having a much larger proportion of bordars and cotters. In Albanstou, Danais, Tring and Broadwater the bordars are less than half the 'villani,' but in Braughing there are more bordars than 'villani' and in Edwinstree, excluding the Bishop of London's manor of Hadam at the southern end of the hundred, there are 230 bordars against only 175 'villani.' These hundreds were the two which contained most socmen and other small holders in 1065 and a similar feature in Bedfordshire will be considered in the note to that county (p. 178). We may also remember that there are 8000 bordars (probably including cotters) against 4000 'villani' in the adjoining county of Essex, where the bordars seem to have increased in numbers after the conquest.¹ In Braughing and Edwinstree the number of cotters is three quarters of the number of 'villani,' in Broadwater less than half, and in Albanstou, Danais and Tring less than a quarter. The hundred of Hertford occupies a middle position as to bordars, but has the largest proportion of cotters in the county.

A peculiarity of the Hertfordshire survey is the 'average' or carrying service due T.R.E. from the king's socmen at the rate of one 'average'

¹ Ellis, ii 441; Maitland D.B. and B, pp. 35, 363.

per hide, "if (in any year) the king came into the shire," otherwise a payment of 4d per hide or 1d per virgate.¹ Sometimes 'average' is mentioned, sometimes it is only said that a socman 'held 1½ virg., he paid (often '*de consuetudine*')² 1½d to the sheriff.' Both classes have been marked by 'a' in the T.R.E. column. They are generally described as socmen of King Edward; but sometimes they were 'men' of various lords, when it is occasionally added³ and no doubt always implied that the soc was the king's. Conversely the name alone of king's socmen probably implied 'average' even though it is not mentioned.⁴ Apart from the king's socmen we hear of socmen rendering average in various members of the great manor of Hitchin, which was held by Harold as early as 1063, but which had probably been a royal manor.⁵ We hear also of the soc of Asgar, which covered lands held by a 'man' of Godwin de Benefelle, by a man of Alwin de Godtone, and apparently by a man of Harold.⁶

The 'socmen,' so named, (outside Hitchin) are found, as Mr Round points out, mainly in the hundred of Edwinstree and in the eastern part of Braughing.⁷ But there seems no reason to draw any sharp distinction between those entered as 'a socman man of X' and those given by name as 'B, man of Y.' At Barley (139 a 1 end) we have two brothers dividing equally land which had no doubt been their father's; one of them is entered as a king's socman, the other as a 'man' of Tochi. Not a few of the nameless socmen held as much as a hide, covering 1½ to 2 team-lands or even more, and we may suspect that such socmen as the six who held a hide apiece at Standon (142 b 1) would have been entered by name if there had not been so many of them. In the case of such a group—and the socmen are found much in groups—probably no names were given in the original return, but names given there may also have been deliberately omitted by the Domesday compiler, for we know that this was sometimes done in Cambridgeshire.⁸

Let us put aside for a moment the difference of description and counting all these 'men' and socmen as separate holders look at the distribution of land in Herts before the conquest. In the south-western half of the county south and west of the Lea, viz, in the southern end of Broadwater at Hatfield, in the hundreds of Albanstou and Danaïs, and in most of Tring, we find as a rule good sized estates, each vill or the mass of it being in the hands of one owner. North of the Lea, in Edwinstree, Braughing, Odsey, Hiz and in the northern part of Broadwater, we find a large proportion of divided villis and many comparatively small holdings from 2½ hides downwards, though mixed with them are not a few large estates. We shall find a very similar state of things immediately to the north in Bedfordshire, and while the large estates in Hertfordshire were nearly all held by the Church that was not the case in Bedfordshire. The following analysis and diagram of Odsey hundred will illustrate the arrangement in Herts. The larger estates occupy about half the hundred,

¹ Knebworth, 138 a 1. V.H. i. 269.

² Cf. "neque consuetudinem reddidit (in Hiz)" 133 a 1. (*bis*).

³ E.g. at Stuterhele and Seuechampe 141 a 1.

⁴ E.g. at Wicheham and Daceworde, 140 a 1.

⁵ D.B. 132 a 2, Wimundeslai; V.H. i. 278 n. 1.

⁶ Bordesdene 138 a 1, 139 b 2, Sawbridgeworth 140 a 1-2.

⁷ V.H. i. 266.

⁸ *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrig.* (ed. N.E.A. Hamilton) p. 18 at Dullingham "H. ½ hid. homo Eddivæ, et A. ½ hid ... et W. 1 hid. homo Haroldi;" D.B. 195 b 2, "3 sochmanni."—p. 28 at Teversham "Ethsi ... et Suneman;" D.B. 201 b 2, "2 sochemanni;" see also p. 1. (D.B. 196 b 1) Chenet; p. 7. (D.B. 195 b 1) Forham; p. 12 (D.B. 196 a 2) Swaffam.

and they seem to be scattered through it quite promiscuously. The letters used are the same as those in the table, but for easier distinction capitals have been used for the larger estates and small letters for the divided villis; the 'holders' include socmen.

(m)n K
l H F op
i E G
q B
r s t
a D
C

<i>Large</i>			<i>Divided</i>			<i>holders</i>	
	<i>hid.</i>	<i>car.</i>			<i>hid.</i>	<i>car.</i>	
K. Ashwell	6	12	part Ashwell } and Caldecot }				
H. Newnham	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	8			4	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	4
E. Bygrave	5	12	n. Hinxworth		5 $\frac{3}{8}$	6	10
F. Tharfield	10	20	m. 'Hainstone'		2 $\frac{5}{8}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2
G. Kelshall	5	10	o. 'Ordewelle'		2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
B. Sandon	10	20	i. Radwell		6	10	3
D. Cottered	5	6	p. Reed		13	20	7
C. Yardley	6	10	q. Wallington		10	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	6
	50 $\frac{3}{4}$	98	r. Clothall		8 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	7
			s. Rushden		5	8	2
			t. Broadfield		3	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	5
			a. Luffenhall		5	8	5
					64 $\frac{1}{2}$	98 $\frac{3}{4}$	56

The position of the small Saxon holders appears to have been a very free one. The term 'socman' seems used in Domesday rather vaguely. In Norfolk and Suffolk those who 'could sell without licence' are almost always distinguished as 'freemen,' the term 'socmen' being used for those who could not sell.¹ But even there the practice is not quite universal and we have an occasional phrase to show that 'socmen' might be used to include 'freemen,'² while in other counties the socmen plainly include both those who could and those who could not sell. In Herts we are told of nearly all the socmen and other small holders that "they could (give or) sell" their land, "to whom they would" or "without licence" being often added and no doubt always implied; but the exact nature of their position turns on the meaning of that phrase. A comparison of Domesday with the Cambridge Inquisition shows that "*dare*," "*vendere*" and "*recedere*" or "*discedere*" are often if not always used as alternative terms,³ but the exact import of these terms is not quite clear. It is certain that even socmen who could sell owed some service or payment to their lords and, if we may judge by scattered entries elsewhere, a good deal of service was due from some of them. Was the position of these small Saxon holders (1) that of the later free tenant of a manor, as we know him from 1300, who could transfer his land when and to whom he pleased, but subject always to the service or payments due to the lord, such service being taken over with the land by the buyer; or (2) could they take the service away from the lord altogether and transfer it to another? The distinction has hardly received enough attention.⁴ The question

¹ Ballard, Domesday Inquest 113.

² D.B. ii 162; "In Fatwella 40 sochemanni... super hos omnes habuit Sancta socam et omnem consuetudinem et commendationem, et illorum

7 liberi erant cum terris suis, sed soca et commendatio remanebat Sanctæ."

³ Round, Feudal England, p. 24.

⁴ But see Maitland, D.B. and B. 100.

stands thus. '*Recedere ad alium dominum*' might imply merely personal liberty to leave the lord and his manor; '*vendere sine licentia*' may well mean power to sell the land subject to the service due to the lord, such service being assumed by the buyer; even '*recedere cum terra*' alone, might possibly mean no more than that. But at Erburberie in Warwickshire (239 b 2) we read "*vendere potuerunt sed non discedere cum terra*," and the fuller phrase '*recedere cum terra ad alium dominum*,' found twice in the Cambridge Inquisition, seems to imply that in those cases the land held of the lord and the service due might be taken away from him altogether. Now there is evidence, though it is not perhaps absolutely conclusive, that this full phrase is, or may be, implied by Domesday in the simple "*vendere* or *recedere potuit*," for in both the cases in which the full phrase is found in the Cambridgeshire Inquisition the Domesday compiler has dropped out "*cum terra ad quemlibet dominum*" as if it was implied as a matter of course in the bare *recedere* or *vendere*.¹ The entry too for 'Fatwella' just quoted² ought to mean that the seven who could sell were able to transfer their '*consuetudinem*' or some of it, though not the soc or commendation; but it would be dangerous to take the form of that entry too strictly.

A similar uncertainty attaches to the mention of '*soc*.' That term is generally taken to mean jurisdiction or at least the right to receive fines imposed by the hundred-court. Mr. Ballard however makes it in Domesday include service generally and certainly that interpretation is tempting; though it is probable that '*soc*' referred strictly to the fines,³ it seems not impossible that '*soca remansit*' may have been used by juries or compilers for brevity to represent the longer phrase '*soca et commendatio et consuetudo remansit*' which we find in Norfolk and Suffolk. However that may be, at Standon (142 b 2) we read "Stigand held this manor. In this manor were six socmen, his men, and each held one hide; *et vendere potuerunt præter socam*. Unus autem eorum etiam socam suam cum terra vendere poterat." At Sawbridgeworth (139 b end) two of Asgar's men "could sell *præter socam*," and the same limitation is mentioned at Hitchin under Offley and Hexton (132 b 2, 140 a 2) and also in many Cambridgeshire entries. These last are generally as to socmen of the Abbot of Ely, but we have also "*soca remansit Episcopo Lincolnensi*," "*Abbati de Ramsey*," "*Eddeve*," and "*Asgaro*," and "*soca remansit in Mordune*."⁴ In general nothing is said about the '*soc*' of those who 'could sell.'

It is going a long way to suppose that the smaller socmen in Herts, who could nearly all 'sell' even though holding only a virgate or half-

¹ Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrig. (ed. N.E.A. Hamilton) p. 7. In Forham three socmen with 3½ hides, 'potuerunt recedere cum terra sua ad quem dominum voluerunt,' but D.B. 195 b 1 has only "recedere sine licentia;" p. 46, in Harlestone "tenuit O. homo comitis Haroldi 4 hidas, potuit recedere ad quemlibet dominum cum terra sua," but D.B. 200 a 2 has simply "tenuit. O. de Haroldo et recedere potuit." Cf p. 17, in Dulingham "tenuerunt 8 sochemanni Regis [1 hidam].. potuerunt dare cui voluerunt, et alii 8 tenuerunt 1 hidam de comite Algaro.. potuerunt dare atque recedere ad alium dominum," but D.B. (197 b 2) only "tenuerunt 16 sochemanni et dare et vendere terram suam potuerunt;" cf. D.B. 200 a 2 (Tramington) "vendere

et recedere ad quem voluit."

² See note 2 previous page.

³ Fold-soc, common in the eastern counties, but found also elsewhere, e. g. at Barnes (Domesday of St. Paul's, Camden Soc. lxix, 105), was a kind of service, but the name meant strictly 'fold-suit,' i. e. attendance, like 'suit of court.' Maitland, D.B. and B. 84; Ballard, Domesday Inquest 84, 117.

⁴ D.B. 190 a 2 Madinglei, Histone 202 b 1, Pampesworde 194 a 1, Foxton 197 a 1, Ovre 198 a 2. Also 189 b 2. "7 sochemanni homines Eddeve recedere absque ejus licentia potuerunt, ipsa vero habuit soca eorum, et unusquisque in servitio regis invenit averam vel 8d. vel mancipium."

virgate, were so independent of the lord that they could transfer their services to whom they would. It is still more difficult to believe that most of the socmen who 'could sell' could transfer the *soc* with their land, if *soc* meant jurisdiction or its profits; but as it was considered worth while to record that some socmen could *not* transfer the '*soc*,' we must apparently suppose that a certain number of them had that power, or at least that such a power was not altogether exceptional. Those who gathered the returns for Domesday appear not to have treated the T.R.E. part of the entries very strictly. Their interest in these Saxon tenures, some features of which were past and gone, was perhaps not great, and it does not seem improbable that they may have used '*vendere potuit*' to cover both some who could withdraw their service altogether and others who could only sell their land subject to the service. It looks too as if the juries or the compilers did not pay much attention to the question of the *soc* in 1065 unless it was pressed upon them by the bailiff of Hitchin or of the Abbot of Ely or by some special circumstance.

So far as the men themselves were concerned these distinctions were perhaps not very important. Probably in practice the small holder did not withdraw from his lord very often; if he did withdraw, he would no doubt at once place himself under another lord for protection. The distinction is chiefly interesting with reference to the growth of the manorial relation before the conquest. If in 1065 the small holders could only transfer their land subject to the service due from it, they might conceivably be travelling along the same road from serfdom to freedom that was followed later by the copyholder. But if most or many of them could withdraw their service altogether, then it seems clear that, in this part of the country at all events, the commendation of these small freemen of 1065, as a general system and apart from the ancient estates of the church, was comparatively recent. There are entries in Herts which point to the connection between the 'man' and his lord being in some cases neither strong nor ancient. At Ware (138 b 1) we read that "Anschtill held this manor (T.R.E.), and a socman his man held 2 hides;" yet we are expressly told that this man of Anschtill did *not* belong to the manor. At Stanstead (138 b 1) Alwin de Godtone held T.R.E. 11½ hides and ten socmen holding 3 hides were "his men;" yet the arithmetic shows that the 3 hides are not included in the 11½, but separate from them. Again at Sacomb (141 a 1) Elmer held 4 hides and there were four socmen who are said to have been "in his manor," yet their lands do not seem to be included in his 4 hides. Moreover when there are several socmen in one village they are as often as not the 'men' of two or three different lords. The slightness of the connection in some cases between the lord and his 'man' seems to be confirmed by the fact that the lands held by the 'men' of a Saxon lord did not by any means always pass to the Norman who was his general successor.¹ At Titeberst again (now Kendall) in Danais the land of three socmen of the Church of St. Alban's had passed to three different lords, the Bishop of Bayeux, Geoffrey de Bech and Geoffrey de Mandeville. We find too brothers, presumably coheirs, commended in 1065 to different lords.²

¹ V.H. i. 274-7, 291.

² D.B. 132 b 2, Peleham; 139 a 1 end, Berlai; also in Middlesex at Cerdentone, 130 b 1; and in

Bucks at Stanes 144 a 1; Herouldsmede 149 a 1; Daceta 152 b 1.

In 1086 these 'men' and socmen have most of them disappeared, having been squeezed into the Norman manors. The instances of manor making at Tiscot, Widiell and Hormead have been quoted by Mr. Maitland and Mr. Round, but these are only the most striking cases of a process which is shewn by the tables to have been very general in the north-western half of the county; it looks as if Inglicric had been engaged in much the same process at Tring even before the conquest. In many places it is specially mentioned by Domesday that the lands of socmen had been incorporated in manors to which they did not belong before the conquest. Presumably these socmen became villeins, for special mention seems to be made of socmen who remained socmen in 1086, but it may be dangerous to interpret 'villanus' too strictly and it is possible that the returns may have sometimes included among them the smaller socmen. Apart from those who held of the king not many socmen are named in 1086. We are distinctly told that two socmen survived the conquest at Bigrave (135 a 1) and two others at Pirton (138 a 2); none of these four could sell in 1065, so that their position cannot have changed very much. At Cheshunt cum Hoddesdon (137 a 1) we read that "there was and is a socman having $\frac{1}{2}$ hide; he could sell T.R.E.," but presumably not in 1086. Apparently also two socmen remained at Clothall (134 b 1), two at Letchworth (137 b 2), four at Sawbridgeworth (139 b 2), one at Broxbourne (142 b 2), and one at Rushden (142 a 1-2). The way in which these socmen are entered in 1086 varies. At Broxbourne the socman is joined with the villeins thus, "four villeins with a priest and a socman and two bordars have there five teams." There is nothing in this to derogate from the status of the socmen, for to say nothing of the priest, in many entries the teams of frenchmen and '*milites*' are included in the same way with those of the villeins.¹ The entries for Sawbridgeworth and the king's manor of Wimondley are like that for Broxbourne. But at Letchworth (10 hid. 137 b 2) we have "land for 7 teams; there are 2 teams in demesne, and 9 villeins with a priest have 5 teams; there are two socmen of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hide, 4 cotters and a bondman." Here the whole manor appears to be covered by the demesne and villein teams leaving the socmen outside, for in Herts the teams are seldom more than the teamlands. There is a similar entry at Rushden (5 hid. 8 car.) and also at Pirton, Cheshunt and Tring. Strictly speaking the socmen's land at Letchworth ought to be taken as an addition to the teamlands previously accounted for, but it seems more probable that the form of the original return led the Domesday compiler to omit the socmen among the holders of the five teams, and that the entry might have run on the Broxbourne model as "9 villeins with a priest and 2 socmen have 5 teams."

Mr. Round has shown that in Cambridgeshire the virgate of assessment was the quarter of a hide and was divided for fiscal purposes into thirty acres.² Presumably the same equation of 1 hid. = 4 virg. = 120 a. held good in most other counties, but it is well to verify it when we can, and the many divided vills of Hertfordshire give us an opportunity to do so. It is quite clear that the virgate is rightly treated as $\frac{1}{4}$ hide, for the tables show a very large number of cases in which a round total assessment

¹ E.g. several cases in Braughing hundred.

² Feudal England, p. 37. The whole question

is treated by Professor Maitland in Domesday Book and Beyond. pp. 475-82.

of 5 or 10 or 20 hides is made up exactly or approximately by items which involve virgates and half-virgates so treated. Mr. Round has already called attention to the neat totals made up by the small holdings at Datchworth, Boxbury and especially Bengoe.¹ In Bucks too there are plenty of similar cases, that of Lavendon in Bonestou being particularly striking. In Herts we have further confirmation, if any is needed, in the payment for average, which was 4d. for a hide and 1d. for a virgate.²

As to the number of acres in a hide the evidence is not so plentiful, nor is it so neat, for naturally small fragments were apt to be treated with little ceremony. In dealing with it we will take as proved that 1 hide = 4 virgates and as probable that each name, even if not a complete 5 or 10 hide vill, will in general, unless rated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ or $7\frac{1}{2}$ hides, cover an integral number of hides without fractions. Let us begin with the payment for average. At Graveley Bruning payed $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for 10 acres; at Stuttrehele (Munden) $5\frac{1}{4}$ pence were payed for 1 hid. 1 virg. 10 a. and one penny for $\frac{1}{2}$ virg. 10 a.³ Now the payment should, as we have seen, have been at the rate of one penny per virgate. It is therefore pretty clear that the allowances in these payments of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for the odd ten acres were approximations, that ten acres were not less than a quarter nor more than half of a virgate, and that the virgate lay probably about midway between 20 and 40 acres. Going on to the cases in Edwinstree hundred where acres appear in the assessments we have:

Barley	$15\frac{1}{2}$ hides + 10 + 20 + 20 + 10 acres, say 16 hides.	
Throcking	$1\frac{3}{4}$ „ + 12 + 18 acres	„ 2 „
Wakeley	40 + 40 + 40 acres	„ 1 „
'Ichetone'	$2\frac{3}{4}$ hides + 6 + 6 + 20 (? for 18)	„ 3 (approx.)
'Bordesdone'	$1\frac{7}{8}$ „ and 4 + 9 acres „	„ 2 (nearly)
'Stuttrehele'	$9\frac{3}{8}$ h. + 2 + 3 + 10 + 9 + 11 + 11 + 10 a. „	10 (nearly)

The first three make the virgate just 30 acres. The fourth makes it 32 acres, but the 20 acre holding here may well be a round figure for 18. The fifth makes the half virgate 13 acres, the two odd acres being probably omitted or included in the $1\frac{7}{8}$ hide. All these are in Edwinstree. The last, in Broadwater, gives only 56 acres to represent $\frac{5}{8}$ hide, which would make a hide only 90 acres, but it looks as if a half-virgate has been omitted and that the 56 represents $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, in which case one 11 acres would stand for a slightly deficient half-virgate; at Graveley again in the same hundred 10 acres represent a half-virgate. Wallington in Odsey, presumably a ten hide vill, is more complicated. It contains 3 h. 40 a., $1\frac{1}{2}$ h. 26 a., 3 h. less 20 a., 2 h. less 10 a., and 1 virgate. The virgate looks like the sum of the 20 and 10 acres previously deducted, leaving 66 acres to represent half a hide; this is a trifle too much for a hide of 120 acres, but small excesses above the regular five and ten hide assessments (e.g. Ayot in Broadwater with 5 h. 9 a) are not uncommon in Hertfordshire, due either to duplication or to the transfer of small holdings from one lord to another. On the whole the evidence is enough to show that in Herts as in Cambridgeshire the fiscal hide contained 120 acres. It must be said that the entries for Wickham in Braughing, which are in all $4\frac{1}{8}$

¹ V.H. i. 287. The half hides are often, and the smaller fractions almost always, expressed in terms of the virgate.

² E.g. At Widihaie (141 b 2) seven socmen

holding 2 hid. 1 virg. paid 9d. or found $2\frac{1}{4}$ averages. See p. 100 above.

³ D.B. 134 a 2, 134 a-b, 141 a 1

hides and 36 acres, would be consistent with Eyton's 48-acre hide. But small omissions are common enough in Domesday, especially in Herts, and there is no need to think that the 36 acres covered the whole of the difference between 5 and $4\frac{1}{8}$ hides so as to give a hide only 40 acres.

A few miscellaneous phrases may be noticed. Of four hides at Minsden (132 a 2) we read that "this manor lay and lies in Hiz," but it is doubtful how much stress we can lay on this use of 'manor.' On the same page we have this entry for Weston(ing); "Earl Harold held this manor and it lay and lies in Hiz, but the 'wara' of this manor lay in Bedfordshire in King Edward's time, in the hundred of Manshead, *et ibi est manerium et fuit semper*, and after the death of King Edward it was not discharged from the King's geld."

At Hailet (140 a-b) the canons of Waltham claimed "so much wood as pertained to one hide." This may explain the hide "*inter boscum et planum*" mentioned at Langelai (135 b 2).¹

At Wavendon (132 b 1-2) we have "land for two teams and six oxen," pointing to a team of eight (at least).

At Bayford and again at Tring (133 a 1-2, 137 a 2) we have "*pastura ad pecuniam et 2s.*" At Hatfield we have 10s. "*de consuetudine silvæ et pasturæ.*"

Mr. Round points out that an Essex entry says "to Hatfield (Broadoak) belonged T.R.E. three berewicks, 'Hereford,' Amwell and Hoddesdon, which Ralf de Limesi holds now (1086); they were worth £12;" whereas Amwell only is assigned to him in Herts and was alone worth £18.¹ Perhaps the words 'which R. de L. holds' belonged only to Amwell in the original return, and either followed Amwell which was there last in order or were added in the margin. Ralf does however seem to have had some land in Hertford,¹ which was probably held, not 'in chief,' but 'of' the king's manor there, and may have been attached T.R.E. to Hatfield. As to the other berewicks, the Amwell of 1065 was probably in 1086 part of Ralf's manor, having rejoined the rest of the vill, and Hoddesdon looks like the $2\frac{3}{4}$ hides held there in 1086 by Count Alan as a berewick of Cheshunt; they had been held T.R.E. by Eddeva, but possibly 'of' Hatfield.

We may note that the division between the dioceses of London and Lincoln cut right across the hundred of Hertford and then followed northward the stream of the Rib. London ran up the valley of the Lea nearly to Hertford; it included Cheshunt, Broxbourne, Wormley, Hoddesdon and Amwell Magna, Amwell Parva being in Lincoln. Westmill, Aspeden cum Wakeley cum Berkesden, and Throcking, which lie to the west of the river Rib, were in the diocese of Lincoln, though they were in the hundreds of Braughing and Edwinstree, all the rest of which belonged to London.²

¹ V.H. Herts i. 299; D.B. ii. 2; p. 221 below.

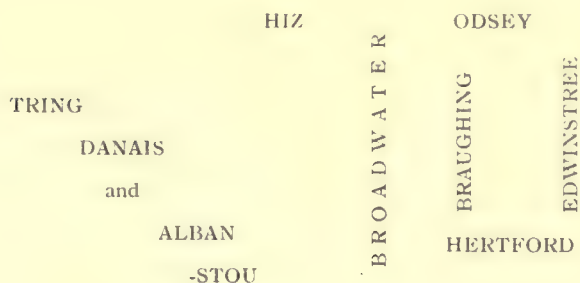
² Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire (1815) vol. i. p. xviii.

SUMMARY OF THE HUNDREDS.

	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE		TEAMS		MEN			
			1065	1086	dem	men	vill	bord	cott	serv
A Albanstou and Danaïs }	218 $\frac{3}{8}$	305	346	302	58	180	332	126	51	48 A
B Tring	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	80	89	68	18	40	82	42	32	22 B
C Hertford	139 $\frac{3}{4}$	171	176	125	45	86	168	114	151	43 C
D Broadwater	231	332	315	237	80	184	359	169	133	86 D
E Hitchin	62 $\frac{3}{4}$	186	241	236	44	97	210	118	97	62 E
F Odsey	116 $\frac{1}{4}$	198	208	156	53	103	219	138	99	83 F
G Braughing	117 $\frac{1}{2}$	194	265	223	47	114	193	203	131	87 G
H Edwinstree	122 $\frac{3}{4}$	246	273	225	94	121	210	236	150	160 H
Totals	1108	1712	1913	1572	439	927 ¹	1773	1146	844	591
Other counts ¹	1050	1716	1894	1542	1406		1830	1107	837	550

¹ Maitland, *D.B. and B.* p.400 (the values being from Pearson) and Ellis, *General Introduction to D.B.* vol ii; I have included in the bordars '32 men, villeins and bordars' at Ware. Turner counted 1763 villeins. As to the values of Hitchin see the note to that hundred. For Mr. Corbett's count of the hides see p.98 above. He gives the recorded hides as 1118 but this no doubt includes 5 at Westoning, 3½ at Mepershall, and ½ at Polehanger not included in the above 1108.

DIAGRAM OF THE HUNDREDS.



TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Bp of Bayeux ...	Adam ...	A Alnot Grutt S ... A
B Canons St. Paul's	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>) ...	B Lewin cilt ... B
C do. ...	Demesne (4 <i>hid.</i>) ...	C Lewin ... C
D Ab. Westminster ...	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>) ...	D Ch. of St. Peter Westminster D
E do. ...	Demesne (4 <i>hid.</i>) ...	E do. E
b Ab. St. Alban's ...	Geoffrey d. Bech ...	b Blache man of St. Alban's <i>L</i> b
F C. of Mortain ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>) ... 2 <i>frenchmen</i>	F Two brothers men of E. Lewin F
b Ab. St. Alban's ...	Demesne (6 <i>hid.</i>) ... 4 <i>frenchmen</i>	b Church of St. Alban ... b
G do. ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>) ...	G do. ... G
H do. ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>) ... 1 <i>frenchman</i>	H do. ... H
I do. ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>) ...	I do. ... I
K do. ...	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>) ... 4 <i>frenchmen</i>	K St Alban ... K
L do. ...	Dem. 3 <i>french.</i> (6 <i>hid.</i>)	L do. ... L
b G. d. Mandeville ...	Turolde ... with <i>Bushey</i> ...	b Alwin huntsman, man... of the Queen S b
M do. ...	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>) ... a <i>socman</i> 1 <i>hid.</i> ...	M Lewin a King's thegn... the socm. m. of Queen 1 h. S M
N C. of Mortain ...	Hunfrid ...	N Edmer Attile as <i>berewick</i> ... of <i>Berkhamstead</i> N
b Ed. d. Salisbury ...	Demesne (2 <i>hid.</i>) ...	b (St. Alban's) Wlwen for life b
O Rob. d. Todeni ...	Baldric ...	O Osulf f. Frane S ... O
P Ralf d. Todeni ...	Demesne (2 <i>hid.</i>) ...	P Achi King's thegn ... P
Q C. of Mortain ...	Ralf ... a <i>frenchman</i>	Q Thuri, Seric, men of E. Lewin Q
b Ab. St. Alban's ...	Demesne (2½ <i>hid.</i>) ... a <i>knight</i> ½ <i>hid.</i>	b Church of St. Alban ... b
R Geof. d. Bech ...	Ralf ...	R Ailmar man of Earl Lewin... R
b Ab. St. Alban's ...	Geoffrey d. Bech...	b Osbern a monk <i>L</i> } ... b Goding his man }
S do. ...	Demesne (3¼ <i>hid.</i>)	S Abp Stigand (<i>L</i>) of St. Alban's S
b do. ...	Amelger ...	b St. Alban ... b
c Bp of Lisieux ...	Wigot ...	c Alwin huntsman m. of E. Lewin c
d C. of Mortain ...	Ranulf ...	d Siward socman of K. Edward S d
T G. d. Mandeville ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>) ...	T Asgar ... T
b Ab. St. Alban's ...	Demesne (2 <i>hid.</i>) ... a <i>frenchman</i>	b Church of St. Alban ... b
V do. ...	Demesne (2½ <i>hid.</i>)	V Godric (<i>L</i>) m. of. Abp Stigand V

a. in Albanstou. **d.** in Danais.**C.** Silva 100 porc. et 2 s.**E.** The reeve shared in the teams.**F.** Pastura ad pecuniam et 2s.**Fb.** Pratum 3 car. et 13s.**H.** Probably once in Hiz hundred.
Wood for fencing and houses.**I.** The vill returned £11.4s; 46 bur-
gesses with ½ hide; parcus besti-
arum silvaticarum; a fish stew.

Mills shill.	Wood swine.	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086	den	men	vill	bor	cott	serv
...	50	...	A <i>a Lampeth</i> ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	...	...	...	A
...	100	^p	B <i>d Kensworth</i> ...	10	10	5	5	$3\frac{1}{2}$	2 ³	2 ³	8	3	...	3 B
	2s.		<i>Canesworde</i>											
...	100	^p	C <i>d Cadington</i> ...	10	10	6	6	$5\frac{1}{2}$	1 ³	6	22	5	...	2 C
	2s ⁿ		<i>Cadendone</i>											
⁴	40	4 ^p	D <i>d Whethamstead</i> P	10	10	30	16	16	3 ²	5	15	12	9	... D
			<i>Walamstede</i>											
5	800	1 ^p	E <i>d in Aldenham</i> ...	9	6	8	3	3	1 ¹	3 ¹	8 ⁿ	...	5	2 E
...	100	...	b <i>a in Eldeham</i> ...	1	1	1	$\frac{3}{5}$	$\frac{3}{5}$	0	0	...	...	2	... b
¹	37 $\frac{1}{3}$	1200	4 ^p F <i>d Hemelhempstead</i>	10	30	25	25	22	4 ²	20 ⁴	0	13	...	8 F
		2s ⁿ	<i>Hamelamestede</i>								2 ^f			
²	20	1000	3 ^p b <i>a Henammestede</i> ...	20	20	25	$22\frac{1}{2}$	$22\frac{1}{2}$	3 ¹	13 ³	26	3	...	1 b
		1 ³ s ⁿ									4 ^f			
10	300	2 ^p	G <i>a Sandridge</i> ...	10	13	12	12	18	2 ¹	10	26	...	2	1 G
			<i>Sandrige</i>											
²	15	^f n	1 ^p H <i>a Paul's Walden</i> ⁿ	10	14	$20\frac{1}{2}$	$18\frac{1}{2}$	$18\frac{1}{2}$	2 ¹	10 ¹	17	9	...	3 H
			<i>Waldene</i>								^f			
³	40	1000	2 I <i>a St. Alban's</i> ⁿ ...	10	16	24	12	20 ⁿ	2 ¹	13	16	13	12	... I
		7s.	<i>villa S. Albani</i>											
5 $\frac{1}{3}$	1200	4 ^p	K <i>a Rickmansworde</i> ⁿ	15	20	20	12	$20\frac{1}{2}$	3 ²	14 ¹	22	9	5	5 K
			<i>Prichemareworde</i>								4 ^f			
¹	26 $\frac{2}{3}$	1000	22 ^p L <i>a Cashio</i> ...	19	22	30	24	28	5 ¹	15 ¹	36	11	3 ^f	2 L
...	30	1	b <i>a in Caissou</i> ...	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	0				b
²	8	1000	^p M <i>d Bushey</i> ...	15	10	15	10	10	2 ¹	5 ¹	10	8	...	... M
			<i>Bissei</i>								^f			
...	50	^p	N <i>d Gaddesden, Lit.</i>	5	3	4	3	2	1	2	5	2	...	1 N
			<i>Gatesdene v.p.96</i>											
5	500	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^p	b <i>d do. Grt</i> ...	5 ⁿ	12	25	20	22	4	6 ²	15	2	1	8 b
...	100	1 ^p	O <i>d Barwith v.p.98</i> ⁿ	5	3	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	2 ¹	?	3	4	...	... O
			<i>in Berworde</i>								^f			
...	1000	...	P <i>d Flamstead</i> ...	4 ⁿ	12	12	9	11	2	8 ²	22	...	7	4 P
			<i>Flammestede</i>											
²	16	240	3 ^p Q <i>d Langley, King's</i>	$1\frac{1}{2}$	16	8	4	2	0 ²	2 ¹²	4	5	...	2 Q
			<i>Langelai v.p.96</i>								^f			
²	20	300	5 ^p b <i>d do. Abbot's</i>	$5\frac{1}{2}$ ⁿ	15	15	12	10	4 ¹	10	10	5	...	2 b
											^{kf}			
...	300	...	R <i>d in Windridge</i> ...	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1 ¹	...	...	3	...	... R
...	300	...	b <i>d in Wenrige</i> ...	10	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	1	5	2	... b
²	26	300	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^p S <i>d in Redborne</i> ...	$7\frac{1}{4}$	16	16	15	30	4	12	16	...	...	1 S
...	200	...	b <i>d in Redborne</i> ...	$\frac{7}{8}$	2	2	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	2	...	2	... b
...	...	...	c <i>d in do.</i> ...	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1	...	... b
...	...	1 ^p	d <i>d in do. v.p.96</i>	$8\frac{7}{8}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	1	$\frac{1}{15}$	0 ¹	...	2	...	... d
...	600	1 ^p	T <i>d Shenley v.p.97</i> ...	$8\frac{3}{4}$	9	8	5	4	2	4 ³	12	...	...	... T
			<i>Senlai</i> ...											
...	400	$1\frac{1}{2}$ ^p	b <i>a do.</i> ...	$14\frac{3}{4}$	6	8	6	12	2	5 ¹	11	...	3	... b
											^f			
10	300	1 ^p	V <i>d Apsbury</i> ...	3 ⁿ	4	4	1	3	2	2	2	4	...	2 V
			<i>Absa</i> ...											

K. De piscibus 4s.**Nb.** T.R.W. 3 hides.**O.** Attached to Studham

in Beds; see p.98.

P. T.R.W. 2 hides.

NO

B

C

P

D

(F)

(G)

R

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V

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EX

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065	
W Rob. Bp Chester not 'de feudo'	Demesne ($\frac{1}{4}$ hid.)... <i>inherited from his</i>	W 3 thegns m. of the Queen S	W
X Ab. Westminster...	(? Demesne) ...	X ?	X
b do. ...	G. d. Mandeville ...	b ?	b
c Ab. St. Alban's ...	Geoffrey [d. Bech]	c a socman of St. Alban's S ...	c
d Bp of Bayeux ...	Adam ...	d Alward <i>de</i> Ab. St. Alban's L	d
e G. d. Mandeville ...	Ralf ...	e 2 socm. of Asgar; socm. of St. A. S	e
f Geof. d. Bech ...	Lovet ...	f a socman man of St. Alban's...	f

BRACHINGES (BRAUGHING)

x Bp of Bayeux ...	Peter ...	x Suan man of Earl Harold S	x
A Bp of London ...	Hunfrid ...	A 4 socmen S ...	A
b do. <i>fee of Bp Will.</i>	Two knights...	b 3 socm. m. of Bp, Asgar, Eddeva	
c Geof. d. Bech ...	Roger and Osbert	c 3 socmen of King S a... ..	c
d G. d. Mandeville ...	a socman ...	d the socman m. of Godid ⁿ S	d
e do. ...	Two knights ...	e 2 socmen men of Asgar S ...	e
B Bp of Bayeux ...	H. d. Grentmesnil	B Alnod man of Abp Stigand S	B
C H. d. Grentmesnil	Demesne (13 hid.) 3 french, 2 english.	C {Anschitil d. Ware; socm. man of Anschitil 2 h. S; socm. m. of {E. Guerd $\frac{1}{2}$ h.; neither 'in manor.' {Asgar staller; socm. m. Asg. 2 h. L	C
D G. d. Mandeville ...	Demesne (15 hid.) Asgar 2 h.; 4 socm.	D {4 socm.; m. of Asgar $\frac{1}{2}$ h.; of {Harold $\frac{1}{2}$; of Alw. d. Godtone $\frac{1}{2}$. S ⁿ	D
E do. ...	Dem. (2 h.) a knight <i>claimed by Bp Lond. as bought by Bp</i>	E Godid man of Asgar S. ...	E
b Bp of London ...	Roder ...	b Edzi man of Goded S a ...	b
F do. ...	Demesne ($\frac{1}{2}$ hid.) <i>bought by Bp Will. 2 knights</i>	F Eddeva the fair ...	F
G Rob. Gernon ...	Anschitil ... 5 frenchmen	G Achi thegn of E. Harold S...	G
b Ralf d. Todeni ...	Roger ...	b Sexi huscarl of the King ... socm. m. of Anschil d. Ware S	b
H C. Eustace ...	Demesne (3 hid.)...	H 2 thegns (L because almsland) men of King (4 h.) & Asgar (1 h.) S	H
I Rothais wife of	Demesne (6 hid.)...	I Abp Stigand; 6 socm. m. of	I
Rich. f. Gilbert	1 french, 2 socmen	Abp 1 hid. each, S, one with soc. ⁿ	
K Ranulf bro. Ilger...	Demesne (13 hid.) 4 frenchmen	K Alwin d. Godtone 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ h.; 10 socm. of Alw. 3 h. S a; 4 socm. m. Anschil	K
b G. d. Mandeville ...	a socman ...	b same socman man of Asgar S	b
c Godmund [a King's	thegn] ...	c the same Godmund S ...	c
d Geof. d. Bech ...	Geoffrey (Runeville)	d Bettice m. of Wlwin d. Estwiche	d
e Ralf Talgebosc's	{ 'in Honesdone' ...	e Alwin d. Godtone ...	e
L daughter ...	{ Demesne (2 hid.)... 1 frenchman	L Lewin man of Earl Harold S	L
M Geof. d. Bech ...	Rainald ...	M Wlwin thegn of E. Harold S	M

X. Eels 200 from a wear; from hay 10s.

Ad. Godid's man was 'of the King's soc,' Geoffrey de Mandeville added him to Thorley.

C. Parcus bestiarum silvaticarum, and 4 arpents of vineyard newly planted.

D. The 4 socmen could sell, but 'without the soc,' which 'was Asgar's.'

Mills shill.	Wood pig.	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	cott	serv
...	400	...	W d Mimms, North Mimmine	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	13	10	8	8	2 ¹	10	17	8	3	1 W
...	40	n	X d in Kendalls (V.H.)	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	...	X
...	12		b d in Tilebersth	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	...	...	...	...	...	b
...	...		c d in do.	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	...	...	...	...	...	c
...	20		d d in Tileberst	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	1	...	d
...	12		e d in do.	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	1	1	...	e
...	24		f d in do.	30	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	f
				218 $\frac{3}{8}$	305	346		302	58	180	332	126	51	48

BRACHINGES (BRAUGHING)

3	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ n	x in Eia 200 cels	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	0	...	...	...	...	x
...	30	$\frac{1}{2}$	A in Wickham M	2 ²⁰	3	3	2	2	2	1	4	2	8	1	A	
...	20	...	b in Wichham	...	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{2}{5}$	$\frac{2}{5}$	0	0	1	...	...	...	...	b
...	8	$\frac{1}{2}$	c in do.	...	$\frac{3}{8}$ 5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	8	...	...	...	c
...	2	...	d in do.	...	0	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{5}$	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	d
...	14	1	e in do.	4 $\frac{5}{12}$	1 ³	2	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 ¹	...	...	...	...	...	e
5	16	[$\frac{1}{3}$]	B Thundridge ... in Tonrinch	...	1	4	5	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	4	3	...	2	B
² 24	400	20	C Ware ⁿ ...	25	24	38	50	50	45	3	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	38	27	12	9	C
³ 10			in Waras								5 f	32	...	...
	300	ⁿ	D Sawbridgeworth ⁿ P	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	40	60	60	50	10	2	28	50	48	50	30	D
5 $\frac{1}{3}$			Sabrixte worde	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	7	10	4		
10	40	2 ⁿ	E Thorley P	...	4	8	10	5	8	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	9	...	11	E
			Torlei	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	k	...	...	...	...
...	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	b in do.	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	b
30	300	1	F Bp's Stortford P	35	6	10	10	8	8	2	4	6	8	12	...	F
			Storte forde	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 k	...	...	...	...
³ 21	100	4 ⁿ	G Westmill v.p.98	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	14	20	10	17	4	10	18	12	15	2	G	
			Westmele	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5 f	...	...	...	...
10	60	2 ⁿ	b Wesmele	...	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	10	14	10	12	2 ¹	7	14	9	3	2	b
1	6	3 ⁿ	H Braughing M P	...	5	11	20	16	16	3	8	10	9	3	6	H
			Brachinges	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
⁵ 45	600	24 ⁿ	I Standon ⁿ P	...	11	24	34	16	34	5	12	29	15	9	8	I
			Standone	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f s	...	...	...	...
10	100	16 ⁿ	K Stanstead ⁿ P	...	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	16	20	10	17	2 ¹	8	4 ⁿ	...	6	2	K
			in Stanstede	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4 f	...	...	...	...
...	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	b in do.	...	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	...	...	...	b
...	8	1	c in Stanestede	...	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	...	4	...	...	...	c
...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	d in do.	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1	...	...	d
...	...		e in do.	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	e
10	40	5 ⁿ	L Hunsdon P	...	3	5	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 ¹	2 ¹	4	8	2	3	L
			in Ho(n)desdone	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	f	...	...	...	...
5	20	5	M Eastwick P	5	2	4	4	2	3	3	2	4	2	...	5	M
			in Estewiche	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
				117 $\frac{1}{2}$	194 $\frac{1}{4}$	265		223	47	114	193	203	131	87		

I. See p. 102. Two arpents of vineyard.

K. ? 14 villeins; the reeve is among the team-holders; 7 burgesses pay ' with other dues of meadow and wood 23s. Of Alwin's 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ hides Ralph Talgebosc gave 11 with his niece to Ranulf, and moved 1 into Hunsdon.

G

H

I

A

F

E

B

C

K

ML

D

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King <i>in Hiz</i> ...	Demesne ($2\frac{5}{8}$ hid.)	A Earl Harold <i>in Hiz</i> ... A
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Adam ...	b Edmund m. of E. Harold S b
B do. ...	Demesne (4 hid.) ...	B 3 men of Abp Stigand S ... B
C Ab. of Ely ...	Demesne (20 hid.)	C The Abbot of Ely ... C
D Derman & Alward	Demesne ($3\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	D Alwin Horne King's thegn S D
b Ab. Westminster...	(? Demesne) ...	b Ch. of St. Peter Westminster b
c Count Alan ...	Godwin... ..	c (Ch. of St. P.) Godwin for life ⁿ c
d Abp Canterbury ...	Anschitil ...	d Alvrice Blac of Ab. West ^r . 2 h. L d
E do. ...	do. ...	E St. Alban's. <i>Alvrice m. of Abp Stigand L</i> E
b Ab. St. Alban's ...	Demesne ($1\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	b Church of St. Alban ... b
F Ab. Westminster...	Demesne (2 hid.) ...	F St. Peter's Westminster ... F
b Abp Canterbury ...	Anschitil ...	b Alvrice Blac of Ab. Westminster L b
c Geof. d. Bech ...	Two knights... ..	c 3 socmen men of the King S c
d Pet. d. Valonges ...	Robert... ..	d Alstan m. of Alm. d. Belintone S d
G Ab. St. Alban's ...	Demesne ($3\frac{1}{4}$ hid.) <i>1 frenchman</i> ...	G St. Alban's, as two manors... G
H Rob. Gernon ...	Alward ...	H <i>Alwin (d.) Gotone 3 hid. L</i> the same Alward S ... H
I Geof. d. Bech ...	Roger ...	I Gode and her son of Q. Edith S I
b A priest as King's	alms ...	b the priest as King's alms ... b
K G. d. Mandeville ...	Torchil ...	K same Torchil m. of Asgar S K
b Pet. d. Valonges ...	Roger ...	b Topi man of Almar S ... b
L Rob. Gernon ...	William... ..	L 2 thegns men of the King S L
b Ab. Westminster ⁿ	Geoffrey ...	b Alwin a King's thegn S ... b
c Bailiff of the hund	red... ..	c Siward m. of Alw. d. Godtone S c
M Geof. d. Bech ...	Osbert ...	M Swen man of Earl Harold... M
N Eud. f. Hubert dap.	Hunfrid 2 knights <i>2 rustici</i>	N Aschil a King's thegn ; ... N
O Pet. d. Valonges ...	Demesne (6 hid.)	O man of Aschil $1\frac{1}{4}$ hid. S Elmer 4 hid. M; 4 socmen ⁿ $1\frac{1}{4}$ h. O Lewin m. of E. Har. $1\frac{3}{4}$ h. M S a woman <i>sub</i> Ans. d. Ware 1 h. <i>Sa</i> b 2 socm. m. of Ansch. d. Ware $\frac{3}{4}$ h. S a socm. m. of Alvrice Blac $\frac{1}{4}$ h. <i>Sa</i>
b Hard. d. Scalers ...	? (Demesne)	b Alwin Horne a King's thegn S c
c Derman a King's	thegn ...	d same socman m. of E. Lewin a d
d A King's socman...	... ..	e Alvrice Blac m. of Abp Stigand S e
e Abp Canterbury ...	Anschitil ...	P St. Mary's Cetriz; E. Harold ⁿ P
P The King ...	Demesne ($2\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	b Swen man of Earl Harold S b
b Goisb. d. Beauvais	Demesne ($2\frac{5}{8}$ hid.)	c Alflet (L) <i>sub</i> Rob. f. Wimarc c
c Rob. Gernon ...	William... ..	d do. (L) <i>de</i> do. d
d Bp of Bayeux ...	Adam ...	

C. De consuetudine silvæ et pasturæ 10s.
Dc. Godwin's widow 'vertit se per vim'
to Eddeva.

F. 'Pratum dim. bovi' ? cf p. 13 note 3.

Lb. Given to abbot by King William.

P. Harold seized it and laid it to Hiz three
years before King Edward died.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086	demmen		vill	bor	cott	serv
...	30	1 ^p	A Minsden <i>Minles</i> P ...	4	8	...	...	...	3	3 ²	8	...	2	6 A
...	60	...	b Almshoe ... <i>in Almshou</i>	5	1	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂	1	1	...	...	3	...	b
...	200	2 ^p	B Aston P ... <i>Estone</i>	10	15	20	14	18	4 ¹	5 ⁵	11	5	6	4 B
47 ¹ ₃	2000	10 ^p	C Hatfield ⁿ P ... <i>Hetfelle</i>	40	30	30	25	25	2 ³	20 ⁵	18	18	12	6 C
131 ¹ ₃	100	1 ^p	D Watton ...	5	7	7	5	5	2 ¹ ₂	4 ¹ ₂	10	4	...	4 D
2	100	^p	b <i>in Wodtone</i> ...	1	2	1	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂	1	1	...	4	2	... b
...	...	1 ¹ ₄	c <i>in Watone</i> ...	1 ¹ ₂	4	1 ¹ ₂	1	1	0 ²	2	...	3	2	... c
2 ¹ ₁₇	100	1 ¹ ₂	d <i>in do.</i> P ...	10	2 ¹ ₂	4	2 ¹ ₂	2 ¹ ₂	1 ¹	2 ²	3	2	...	d
...	20	1 ¹ ₂	E Sheephall ... <i>in Escepehala</i>	2	5	4	2	3	1 ¹	2 ¹	3	...	...	E
...	10	1 ^p	b <i>Escepehale</i> ...	5	3	5	4	3	4	1 ¹	3	8	...	2 1 b
...	50	1 ¹ ₂ ⁿ ^p	F <i>in Datchworth</i> ...	3 ¹ ₄	3	3	2	2	1	2	6	...	2	... F
...	50	1 ¹ ₆	b <i>in Daceworde</i> ...	1	2	3	1	1 ¹ ₂	1	1	3	2	...	... b
...	...	...	c <i>in do.</i> ...	5 ¹ ₈	1	1	1 ¹ ₈	1 ¹ ₈	...	1	3	...	...	... c
...	...	...	d <i>in do.</i> ...	5 ¹ ₈	1 ¹ ₄	1 ¹ ₁₀	1 ¹ ₁₀	1 ¹ ₁₀	0	0	...	...	...	... d
2 ¹ ₁₂	200	2 ^p	G Codicot <i>M</i> ... <i>Codicote, Oxewiche</i>	8	12	12	5	6	4	7 ¹	16	...	3	4 G
...	200	^p	H Mardley ... <i>in Merdelai</i>	1	3	2 ¹ ₂	2	1 ¹ ₂	1	2	4	2	3	... H
8	20	2 ^p	I Welwyn ...	2	7	6	1	2 ¹ ₂	1 ¹	4 ¹	6	4	4	1 I
...	50	1 ^p	b <i>in Welge v.p.97</i> ...	1	3	1 ¹ ₄	1 ¹ ₄	1 ¹ ₄	1 ¹	1	...	6	2	... b
1 ¹ ₂ 8 ¹ ₃	100	^p	K Digswell ...	2	8 ¹ ₂	4	2 ¹ ₂	4	2	6 ¹ ₂	12	3	4	2 K
1 ¹ ₂ 3 ¹ ₃	50	1 ¹ ₄	b <i>in Dichelswelle</i> ...	15	1	3	2 ¹ ₂	1	1 ¹ ₄	1	2	5	3	8 ... b
...	150	1 ^p	L Ayot ...	2 ¹ ₂	6	6	3	2	1 ¹	3 ¹	6	3	...	1 L
6 ² ₃	24	1	b <i>in Aietc</i> ...	5	2 ¹ ₂	7	5	1	3	1 ¹	5	13	4	5 ... b
...	...	...	c <i>in do.</i> ...	0 ⁰	1 ¹ ₈	1 ¹ ₂₇	...	1 ¹ ₂₇	...	...	...	...	...	c
...	150	1 ¹ ₈	M <i>in Langley (lai)</i> ...	1 ¹ ₂	3	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₄	1 ¹ ₂	1 ²	...	2	...	4	1 M
12	1000	1 ¹ ₂ ^p	N Knebworth ... <i>Chenepeworde</i>	9 ³ ₄	8 ¹ ₄	12	12	5	10	2 ²	8	20	2	3 4 N
20	60	...	O Sacomb P ... <i>in Sevechampe</i>	8 ³ ₄	7	8	6	6	3 ¹	3	5	6	6	4 O
...	...	...	b <i>in Suvechampe</i> ...	1	1	1	2 ¹ ₅	2 ¹ ₅	...	1	4	...	...	... b
...	...	...	c <i>in Suvechampf</i> ...	1 ¹ ₈	1 ¹ ₄	1 ¹ ₂₀	1 ¹ ₂₀	1 ¹ ₂₀	...	...	...	...	...	... c
...	...	...	d <i>in do.</i> ...	10	1 ¹ ₈	1 ¹ ₄	1 ¹ ₈₀	1 ¹ ₈₀	1 ¹ ₈₀	...	...	...	...	... d
...	...	...	e <i>in Stuochamp?</i> ...	1 ¹ ₈	1 ¹ ₄	1 ¹ ₁₆	1 ¹ ₁₆	1 ¹ ₁₆	...	...	...	...	...	... e
20	f	1 ¹ ₄ ^p	P Wimundley ...	8	18	...	...	...	3	15	24	5	5	6 P
...	10	1 ^p	b <i>Wimundeslai</i> ...	3 ¹ ₄	4	3	1	3	2 ¹	1	4	3	4	2 b
...	...	1 ¹ ₁₂	c <i>in Wimundelai</i> ...	1	1	1 ¹ ₄	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂₀	0 ¹	...	...	...	1	... c
...	...	1 ¹ ₁₂	d <i>in do.</i> ...	1 ¹ ₄	1	1	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂	1	...	...	3	...	... d

O. The 4 socmen were Elmer's men ; one held $\frac{1}{2}$ hid. S, the second $\frac{1}{4}$ hid. L, third and fourth $\frac{1}{2}$ h. S a. The woman held also 1 virg. pledged to Elmer for 10s.

south part

	A	B
	M	D
	G	H F
L	I	K
		C
		O

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
Q Bp of Bayeux ...	Adam ...	Q Alnod 1½ h. S; Bruning 10a. <i>Sa</i> Q
b Goisb. d. Beauvais	Demesne (1⅔ hid.)	b Swen man of Earl Harold <i>S</i> b
c Pet. d. Valonges ...	Godefrid ...	c Lemar of Almar d. Belintone <i>S</i> c
d Rob. Gernon ...	William... ..	d 2 men of Godw. d. Benefelle <i>S</i> d
e William de Ow ...	(? Demesne) ...	e Alestan d. Boscumbe ¼ h. <i>with</i> e <i>Weston</i> ; a K's socman ⅛ h. <i>S a</i>
R Ab. Westminster ...	Demesne (4 hid.) ...	R St. Peter's Westminster ... R
b do. <i>herdwick of</i>	<i>Stevenage</i> see p.97 ...	b b
β Pet. d. Valonges ...	Roger ...	β Alwin m. of Almar d. Belint. <i>S</i> β
b Rob. Gernon ...	William ...	b Godwin m. of Al. d. Belintone <i>S</i> b
γ do. ...	William... ..	γ Alvrice m. of Alvrice (?) d. Bel. <i>S</i> γ
b Geof. d. Bech ...	Alvrice Busch ...	b same Al. Bus. m. of Swen, K's soc.
c Pet. d. Valonges ...	Godefrid ...	c Alwin; Alwin Dode m. of Alvrice <i>parvus</i> 10a. in Willian. <i>L</i> c
S Rob. Gernon ...	Rob. d. Pontcardon	S Godric m. of Almar d. Belint. <i>S</i> S (Levrice huscarl of E. Lewin <i>S</i> ; socm. m. of Elmar d. Belint. ½ h. widow of Godw. d. Letchworth ½
b Geof. d. Bech ...	Demesne (2 hid.)... <i>a knight</i>	b { Alestan d. Boscumbe 1½ h. <i>S</i> c Alestan d. Boscumbe 1½ h. <i>S</i> c
c William d. Ow ...	William d. Mara ...	c { d <i>with Weston</i> ; Alviet his man 1 h. d
d do. ...	(? Demesne) ...	d { e Abp. Stigand e
e Bp of Chester ...	<i>with Bigrave</i>	e Abp. Stigand e
T Ab. St. Alban's ...	Dem. (2 hid.) <i>french</i>	T St. Alban T
b Alward d. Merdelai	King's thegn... ..	b the same Alward <i>a</i> b
c G. d. Mandeville ...	Lovet ...	c Alwin a King's socman <i>a</i> ... c
U Rob. Gernon ...	William... ..	U Godw. d. Souberie King's thegn <i>S</i>
V William de Ow ...	Demesne (5 hid.)... <i>knight</i> ; 2 <i>frenchmen</i>	V 3 socm. his men 2¾ h. <i>S</i> V Alestan a King's thegn ... V
W do. ...	Peter ...	W 2 m. of Ales. d. Bosc. ¾ h. <i>S</i> , 2 h. <i>L</i> W
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Osbern ...	b Samar man of Alnod <i>S</i> ... b
c Pet. d. Valonges ...	<i>with Bennington</i> ...	c not given c
X do. ...	Demesne (6½ hid.)	X Almer de Belintone X
Y Derman K's thegn	Demesne (5 hid.) ...	Y Alwin Horne a King's thegn <i>S</i> Y
Z Count Allan ⁿ ...	Demesne (4⅛ hid.)	Z Eddeva the fair Z
b Walt. d. Flanders	Demesne (3½ hid.)	b Lewin man of Earl Harold <i>S</i> b
Δ Bp of Bayeux ...	Demesne (2 ⁹ hid.)	Δ Lewin Scova, King's soc <i>S a</i> Δ
b do. ...	Peter ...	b 2 socm. m. of E. Lewin, K's soc <i>S</i> b
c do. ...	Turstin ...	c Almar m. of Asgar, K's soc <i>S a</i> c
d do. ...	? ...	d Alward of Abp Stigand ... d
e Walt. d. Flanders	Demesne (1 hid.) ...	e Torchil (<i>L</i>) of Lewin <i>in Munden</i> e
f do. ...	? ...	f Lewin <i>S</i> [Alwin ¾ h. <i>S a</i>] f
g Pet. d. Valonges ...	Two socmen... ..	g 2 m. of Elm. d. B., Leveron 1 h. <i>L</i> g
h do. ...	? ...	h a socman <i>de</i> King Edward... h
i do. ...	Alward ...	i a woman <i>de</i> Almar i
k Derman K's thegn	... ..	k Alwin Horne a King's thegn <i>S</i> k
l do. ...	... ..	l ? l
m Abp Canterbury ...	an englishman ...	m the same englishman <i>S</i> ... m

S. Wood for hedges and houses.
Tb. Cf. *Anecdol. Oxon.* vii. 133.

X. *Parcus bestiarum silvaticarum.*
Z. Forfeited by Earl Ralf.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	cott	serv
...	f	p	Q Graveley ...	1 ¹⁰ ₂	3	21 ² ₂	21 ² ₂	1	1 ¹	1	4	3	...	2 Q
...	f	p	b in Gravelai ...	2	3	2	1	2	1 ¹	1	3	...	1	1 b
...	f	p	c in do. ...	2 ³ ₄	3	4	1 ² ₂	2	2	1	3	4	2	2 c
...	...	...	d in do. ...	1 ² ₂	1	1 ⁴ ₄	1 ⁴ ₄	1 ⁵ ₅	0 ¹	...	...	...	...	d
...	...	...	e in do. ...	2 ³ ₈	1 ³ ₈	1 ² ₂	1 ⁵ ₅	1 ⁵ ₅	0 ²	...	2	...	...	e
...	50	p	R Stevenage Stigenace ...	8	10	13	12	12	2	7 ¹	16	8	...	4 R
...	50	1 ^p	b Thennge v.p.97 ...	21 ² ₂	1	in	R	...	1	...	...	...	2	...
...	10	1 ⁴	β in Wlwenwiche ...	3 ³ ₈	1 ² ₂	1 ² ₂	3 ³ ₈	3 ³ ₈	0	0	...	...	5	...
...	20	1 ²	b in do. v.p.97 ...	5 ⁵ ₈	1	1	1 ² ₂	3 ³ ₈	1	...	...	2	2	...
...	...	...	γ ? Chells v.p.97 ...	1 ² ₂	1	1	1 ² ₂	1 ² ₂	0 ¹	...	...	...	1	...
...	...	...	b in Scelve ...	1 ⁵ ₅	1 ⁴ ₄	1 ⁴ ₄	1 ⁴ ₄	1 ⁴ ₄	1 ⁴ ₄	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	c in Escelvcia ...	14 ⁵ ₈	1 ¹ ₂	1	2	1	1	...	...	2	...	1 c
...	n	1 ⁴	S Willian v.p.97 ...	1 ¹ ₂	3	2	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹	1	3	6	1	2 S
...	f	1 ^p	b in Wilie ...	5 ¹ ₄	9	12	4	10 ⁷ ₁₀	2 ²	5	10	4	...	b
...	...	p	c in Wilga ...	2	3	4	1 ³ ₅	1 ³ ₅	1	1 ¹	5	...	2	...
...	...	...	d in do. ...	1 ² ₂	1 ² ₂	3 ³ ₈	3 ³ ₈	3 ³ ₈	0	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	e in Wilge ...	c.10	1 ² ₂	3 ³ ₈	3 ³ ₈	3 ³ ₈	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	216	2 ^p	T Norton Nortone ...	4	10	17	16	16	3	7	14	f	5	1 T
...	24	...	b in Rodenethangre ⁿ ...	3 ³ ₄	1	1 ⁴ ₄	1 ⁴ ₄	1 ⁴ ₄	0	0	...	...	1	...
...	...	...	c in Rodehangre ...	5	1 ⁴ ₄	1 ⁴ ₄	1 ⁴ ₄	1 ⁴ ₄	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	100	1 ^p	U Letchworth P ...	10	7	8	7	6	2	5	9	...	4	1 U
...	...	...	Lecceworde	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	10	500	V Weston PP ...	10	23	30	25	20	5 ¹	16 ¹	33	15	12	10 V
...	131 ^s	...	Westone	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	f	...	W in Box ...	2 ³ ₄	5	3	1 ¹ ₂	21 ² ₂	2 ¹	2	2	4	3	3 W
...	...	...	b in Boxe ...	1 ² ₂	1	1 ² ₂	1 ² ₂	1 ² ₂	...	...	...	1	...	...
...	...	...	c in do. ...	5	1 ³ ₄	2	in	X	...	...	...	1	...	...
...	100	n	X Bennington Belin- P ...	10	11	14	6	12	3 ²	8	16	17	1	5 X
...	200	p	Y Walkern Walkra M ...	10	12	16	8	10	2 ²	8	14	6	8	4 Y
...	10	150	Z Munden ⁿ M v.p.98 ...	7 ¹ ₈	14	16	12	16	4	10	16	6	1	2 Z
...	200	p	b Munda(e)ne P ...	12 ³ ₈	5 ¹ ₄	8	8	7	1 ²	5	12	2	...	2 b
...	1 ¹ ₃	55	Δ Stotles (Munden) ...	21 ⁹ ₄	2	2	1	1	0	0	...	3	...	Δ
...	30	...	b in Sutreshele ...	11 ¹ ₁₀	1	1	7 ⁷ ₂₀	1	...	1	2	f	...	...
...	4	100	c in do. ...	2	2	3	1 ¹ ₂	11 ¹ ₂	0	0	...	...	2	...
...	...	...	d in do. ...	0 ¹¹	...	11 ¹ ₂₀	11 ¹ ₂₀	11 ¹ ₂₀	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	15	...	e in Sutrehella ...	11 ¹ ₈	2	11 ¹ ₂	1	1	1 ¹	...	1	...	...	...
...	...	...	f in do. ...	0 ¹¹	...	1 ¹ ₂₀	1 ¹ ₂₀	1 ¹ ₂₀	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	1 ^p	g in Stuterehele ...	14 ³ ₄	2	2	1	1	2	...	...	1	...	...
...	4	...	h in do. ...	1 ⁸ ₁₀	3 ³ ₈	...	...	1 ¹ ₁₀	...	...	...	1	...	...
...	...	...	i in do. ...	1 ⁸ ₈	1 ⁸ ₈	1 ¹ ₅	1 ¹ ₅	1 ¹ ₅	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	k in do. ...	3 ³ ₄	1	in	Wat	ton	0	0	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	l in do. ...	0 ³	...	1 ⁸ ₈	1 ⁸ ₈	1 ⁸ ₈	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	m in do. v.p.105 ...	9 ⁷ ₈	0 ²	...	2 ² ₄₀	2 ² ₄₀	...	...	...	...	...	...
				231	332	315		237	80	184	359	169	133	86

U S V north part
 P Q Y
 R W X Z Δ

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Bp of Bayeux ...	Adam ...	A Adam of Abp Stigand S ... A
b Abbess of Cetriz ...	Demesne ($1\frac{1}{2}$ hid.) 8 <i>liberi</i>	b Church of St. Mary Chatteris b
c Will. d. Odburgville	Demesne ($2\frac{1}{2}^{10}$ hid.)	c Lewin a King's thegn S ... c a man of Lewin $\frac{1}{4}$ hid. S
d Eud. f. Hubert dap.	Demesne ($1\frac{1}{2}^{20}$ hid.)	d 2 brothers, one a King's socman, d the other man of Tochi S
e Harduin d. Scalers	Tetbald...	e 5 socm. S m. of Algar (3) 1^{10} hid., e of Gyrth 2 h., of E. Harold 1 hid.
f Geof. d. Bech ...	Ansfrid ...	f Algar man of Wigar S... f
B do. ...	do. ...	B do. ... B
x Bp of Bayeux ...	Adam ...	x Leffet of Abp Stigand S ... x
b Hard. d. Scalers ...	Three men ...	b Ordmer m. of Ab. Ramsey S b
C Eudo f. Hubert ...	Demesne ($3\frac{1}{8}$ hid.)	C Aldred S; socm. m. of Ald. $\frac{1}{4}$ h. <i>Sa</i> C a socm. m. of E. Algar $\frac{3}{4}$ h. S
D G. d. Mandeville...	Hugh ...	D 2 men of Asgar staller S ... D
b Edgar Atheling ...	Godwin...	b 2 socm. m. of Asgar staller S b
c Hard. d. Scalers ...	Two men ...	c socm. m. of E. Algar $\frac{1}{4}$ h. S c socm. m. of Eldret $\frac{1}{8}$ hid. <i>S a</i>
E Bp of Bayeux ...	Osbern ...	E Sault m. of Earl Lewin S ... E {4 socm. S m. of Abp Stigand (3) {and of Earl Algar ... F
F do. ...	do. <i>a frenchman</i>	F {and of Earl Algar ... F
b Hard. d. Scalers ...	Tetbald...	b 2 socm. men of E. Algar S b
G do. ...	do. ...	G 2 socm. m. of Abp Stigand S G
b Bp of London ...	Hunfrid ...	b 2 bros. m. of Bp., King's soc <i>Sa</i> b
c Bp of Bayeux ...	Osbern ...	c Alvrice Scova S ... c
d C. Eustace ...	Rumold...	d Alric m. of Abp Stigand S ... d
H Eudo f. Hubert ...	Rich. d. Sachanville	H Aldred King's thegn S ... H
I C. Eustace ...	Robert ...	I Alward m. of E. Harold S... I
b Hard. d. Scalers ⁿ	Peter and Tetbald	b 3 socm. S m. of Eddeva $\frac{1}{16}$, b Algar $\frac{1}{16}$, and Guerd $\frac{1}{8}$ hid.
K do. ...	Tetbald...	K Edric m. of Earl Algar S ... K
b C. Eustace ...	Robert ...	b Alward m. of E. Harold S... b
c Count Alan ...	Ralf ...	c Eddeva fair ' <i>held this manor</i> '! c
L do. ...	Roger ...	L Alric m. of Abp Stigand S ... L
b G. d. Mandeville...	Saward ...	b Alvred m. of Asgar S ... b
c Robert Gernon ...	William ...	c Alvred m. of Asgar staller S c
M Pet. d. Valonges ...	(? Demesne) ...	M 4 socmen ⁿ <i>a</i> ... M
N Ralph Baigniard...	William...	N Almar m. of Earl Guert S ... N {Gode <i>homo regis</i> $\frac{3}{4}$ hid. S
O C. Eustace ...	Robert ...	O {Alward m. of E. Harold $\frac{1}{4}$. S O {2 King's socmen $\frac{1}{2}$ hid. <i>S a</i>
P Bp of Bayeux ...	Osbern ...	P {2 socm. S m. of Stigand, E. Har. P
b C. Eustace ...	Rumold...	b Godid <i>homo Asgari</i> S ... b
c do. ...	Two knights...	c do. S ... c
d Pet. d. Valonges ...	Hunfrid ...	d Elmer d. Belintone S ... d
e Hard. d. Scalers ...	Tetbald...	e 2 King's socmen <i>S a</i> ... e
f Eudo f. Hubert ...	Walter ...	f Aldred a King's thegn S ... f

D. De pastura et silva 2s. et 3 soccos.**E.** De pastura et silva 10s.**M.** One socman was the King's bailiff.**Ib.** Count Alan claimed $\frac{1}{3}$ of this virgate; Hardwin refers to Peter the sheriff and the Bp of Bayeux.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN				
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	cott	serv	
...	...	...	A in Barley ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	$\frac{3}{5}$	1	...	1 ¹	3	...	...	2 A
...	20	...	b in Berlai ...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	6	...	2 b
...	f	...	c in do. ...	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹⁰	5	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	2	3	9	3	1	2 c	
...	...	...	d in do. ...	2 ²⁰	1	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	?	1	4	...	...	2 d
...	...	...	e in do. P v.p.105 ...	4 ¹⁰	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	$\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	8	4	2 e
...	...	...	f in do. ...	0 ²⁰	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{20}$	$\frac{3}{20}$	$\frac{3}{20}$	...	...	...	...	...	f
...	50	1	B Cockenhatch in Cochenac	17 ¹²	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	5	2	3	2	2	1	8	6	1 B
...	...	...	x in Haslehangra ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	x
...	...	...	b in Helsangre...	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	...	...	b
...	100	1 ^p	C Newsells Neusela	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	14	12	6	18	5	9	10	6	7	21 C	
...	50 ⁿ	1 ^p	D Barkway P M	3	7	6	3	6	3	4	12	15	4	6 D	
...	15	1 ^p	b in Berchewei...	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	1	...	4	4	1 b	
...	c in do. ...	10	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{7}{20}$	0	0	1	...	c
...	40	1 ^p	E Buckland P ... Bochelande	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	6	10	8	6	2 ¹	3	8	6	8	4 E	
...	F in Hodenhoe	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	f3	6	F
...	f	...	b in Odenhou ...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	b
...	f	3 ^p	G Throcking ...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	2	6	2 G
...	f	1 ^p	b in Troching...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{3}{5}$...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	1	...	b
...	c in do. v.p.105 ...	0 ¹²	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	c
...	d in do. ...	9 $\frac{1}{8}$	0 ¹⁸	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	d
...	20	1	H Aspeden Absedene P	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	2	1	...	6	...	3 H	
2 ^{3/4}	30/	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	I in Berkesden M	1	4	5	2	3	2	2	2	5	...	6 I	
...	...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	b in Berchedene ⁿ	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	b
...	f	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	K in Wakeley ...	0 ⁴⁰	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{2}{10}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	7	...	K
...	f	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	b in Wachelei ...	0 ⁴⁰	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	b
...	...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	c in do. v.p.105 ...	0 ⁴⁰	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	s	...	1	...	c
...	...	...	L in Langeport...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	1	2 L
...	...	...	b in do. v.p.97 ...	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	1	2 b
...	f	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	c in Summersele	5	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	1	1	...	c
...	M Stonebury Stanes...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$...	1	4	M
...	? 10	1 ^p	N Alswick Alsieswiche	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	7	8	5	7	2 ¹	3 ¹	4	...	11	7 N
...	10	1 ^p	O Corneybury ... in Corni	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{2}{9}$	1	...	...	4	4	2 O
...	10	1 ^p	P in Layston ...	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	1	4 P	
...	b in Ichelone ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	2	1	1	b
...	c in do. v.p.105 ...	0 ²⁰	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{20}$	$\frac{3}{20}$	$\frac{3}{20}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	c
...	...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	d in do. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	2	d
...	...	5 ^p	e in do. ...	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$...	1	1	6	1	...	e
...	f in do. ...	4	0 ⁶	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{1}{20}$	f

A
C B
D
F E

(F) (E)
Q R
G O P T
H I K N M S V

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
Q Harduin d. Scalers	Demesne (2 ²⁰ hid.)	Q { 9 socmen viz: Sired m. of Har. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ h. M, Alward m. of Alg. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ h. M 7 King's socmen 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ hid. a
b C. Eustace	Rumold... ..	b Godid <i>homo Asgari</i> . S b
R do.	Demesne (3 hid.)...	R Alward thegn of E. Harold S R
b Hard. d. Scalers ...	Pagan	b Alward m. of Earl Algar S... .. b
S Edgar Atheling ...	Godwin... ..	S { Alnod thegn of Abp Stigand 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ h. M Ulwin m. Asgar 1 h.; Alw. m. A. d. Belint. 1 h.; 7 K's socm. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ h.
b C. Eustace	Two englishmen ...	b Ulward m. of Asgar staller S b
c Ralf Baigniard ...	William... ..	c Ulward do. do. S c
<i>claimed by</i>	<i>men of C. Eustaceⁿ</i>	
T Bp. of London ...	Pagan	T Alward m. of Abp Stigand S T
V do.	Ralf	V 2 brothers m. of Asgar staller S V
b do.	Pagan	b Alvred man of Asgar staller S b
c do.	Ranulf	c 2 thegns, S m. of Anschil Waras and Godwin [d.] Benefel c
d do.	Gilbert and Ranulf	d 2 brothers S m. of Asgar d and Ab. of Ely
e do.	Two knights... ..	e 2 thegns m. of Aschi Wara and A. d. Belint.; 5 K's socm. $\frac{1}{2}$ h. S e
f do.	Eldred	f Alwin m. of Godw. d. Benefelle S f
g do.	Riculf	g Wlwi m. of Godw. d. Benef. S g
h do. I. H.	William and Ranulf	h Wlwi m. of Asgar staller S h
X do.	Ralf	X Siward m. of Abp Stigand S X
Y do.	Baldwin	Y Alward m. of Asgar staller S Y
Z C. Eustace	Demesne ($\frac{3}{4}$ hid.) ...	Z Gouti thegn of E. Harold S Z
β do.	Demesne ($\frac{3}{4}$ hid.) ...	β 9 socm. m. of Asgar staller S β
b G. d. Mandeville ...	Turald	b 4 socm. m. of do. S b
c Rob. Gernon... ..	William... ..	c Lewin m. of Godw. d. Benefelle c <i>the soc was Asgar's</i>
d do.	do.	d 2 socm. m. of Godw. d. Benefelle d
γ Ab. of Ely	Demesne (2 hid.)...	γ the Church of Ely 'as γ <i>the whole shire testify</i>
<i>claimed by Bp</i>	<i>of London 134. a. 1</i>	
b Bp. of London ...	Demesne (2 hid.)...	b the see of London b
c do.	Osbern	c a socm. m. of E. Algar $\frac{1}{2}$ h. S c a socm. $\frac{1}{2}$ h. of King's soc S a
d do.	William... ..	d Edric m. of Asgar staller S d
e do.	do.	e 2 socm. S m. of Stigand 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ h., of Wimarc $\frac{7}{8}$ h.; K's socm. $\frac{1}{2}$ h. S a e
f do.	do.	f Leware of Bishop, $\frac{1}{2}$ h. S, 1 h. L f
g do.	Roder	g Aldred King's thegn S g
δ do.	Demesne (2 hid.)...	δ Eldred King's thegn S... .. δ
b do.	Tedbert	b Alward m. of Abp. Stigand.S b

S. 'Ilbert sheriff added the 7 socmen, Ulwin and Alward to the manor, to which they did not belong T.R.E.'

Sc. The men of Count Eustace claimed this virgate as held after the Count 'venit ad hanc honorem.'

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	cott	serv
...	f	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ P	Q Widiall P 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	10	6	9	3	5	11	5	4	6	Q
			<i>Widi hale</i>											
2	20	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ P	b in Alfedawicha 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	2	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	...	7	...	2	b
...	50	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ P	R Anstey P (-ige) v.p.96	5	10	15	14	14	2 ¹	5 ²	8	6	5	6 R
...	12	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ P	b in Anestei (? pt R) 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	4	4	1	b
...	24	1P	S Hormead ⁿ M ... 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	10	12	6	8	4 ¹	5	6	15	2	6	S
			<i>Horcmede</i>											
...	12	1	b in do. P ... 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	4	3	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	...	...	b
...	f	...	c in do. (part Sb) ⁿ 10 (1 $\frac{1}{4}$) ⁿ	(1 $\frac{1}{2}$)	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	...	c
...	400	3P	T Measden P ... 1	5	6	1	1	0 ²	3	3	...	1	1	T
			<i>in Mesdone</i>											
...	20	P	V Pelham ... 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	5	5	4	4	2 ¹	2	2	3	1	5	V
...	6	...	b in Peleham ... 1	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	3	...	b
...	30	1P	c in do. ... 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	15	10	10	2	6	7	5	6	6	c
...	100	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ P	d in do. ... 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	3	2	2	1	1 ¹	1	3	7	...	d
...	100	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ P	e in do. P ... 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	7	6	5	5	3	4	7	7	6	1	e
...	20	1P	f in do. ... 1	2	2	1	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	8	...	2	f
...	40	1P	g in do. ... 2	4	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	5	2	2	4	3	10	3	g
...	60	P	h in Tedricesham 14 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	3	2	2	1	2	3	1	1	h
...	30	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ P	X Albury Eldeberic ... 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	8	7	7	2	6 ¹	6	9	3	3	X
...	60	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ P	Y Patmore ... 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	4	4	4	2	1 ¹	2	2	6	3	Y
			<i>in Palemere</i>											
...	10	1P	Z Cockhampstead ... 2	6	7	7	7	1	5	5	3	1	4	Z
			<i>Cochehammstede</i>											
...	20	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ P	β in Boreson P ... 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ⁴	3	4	3	3	1	2	11	...	...	2	β
...	...	1P	b in Bordesdene ... 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁹	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	...	...	b
...	f	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ P	c in do. v.p.105	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	4	...	...	c
...	f	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ P	d in Sapheham v.p.97101	2	4	4	3	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 ¹	...	4	3	2 d
...	100	2P	γ Hadam ... 4	13	12	15	15	3 ¹	8 ¹	15	15	...	7	γ
			<i>Hadam</i>											
4	200	4P	b do. ... 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	24	20	20	6	15	35	6	2	12	b
...	...	...	c in do. ... 1	2	2	2	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	6	1	c
...	...	...	d in do. ... 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1	...	...	d
...	30	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ P	e Parva Hadam 15	2	4	4	4	2	1	...	4	4	3	e
...	f	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ P	f in Lewarewiche ... 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 ¹	1	3	...	2	4	f
...	50	1	g in Celgdene (V.H.)	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 ¹	...	1	...	4	g
5	50	2	δ Widford ... 3	5	8	5	5	2	3	5	8	1	3	δ
...	30	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ P	b in Wideforde 6	1	3	2	2	1 ¹	...	...	8	...	...	b
				122 $\frac{3}{4}$	246	273		225	94	121	210	236	150	160

F	E				(S)	(V)	
G	O		R		β	Z	Y
HIK	N	P	S	T		X	
		M		V		δ	γ

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065	
A The King ... ..	...	A	A
B do.	Demesne (2 $\frac{3}{4}$ hid.)	B E. Tosti; then King Edward	B
C Count Alan	Demesne (10 hid.)	C Eddeva the fair	C
	a socman $\frac{1}{2}$ hid. ...	the same socman $\frac{1}{2}$ hid. S	
D do. <i>berewick of C.</i>	Demesne (2 hid.) ...	D Eddeva the fair	D
b C. Eustace	St. Martin's London	b Godid <i>homo Asgari</i> S ...	b
c G. d. Mandeville ...	Ralf	c Godid do. S	c
d Ed. d. Salisbury ...	Demesne (3 hid.) ...	d Gode of Queen Edith S ...	d
E Peter a burghess (K's	thegn)	E Goda <i>homo reginæ</i> S ...	E
F Ralf d. Limesi ...	Demesne (7 hid.) ...	F Earl Harold	F
	4 frenchmen		
G Ad. d. Grentmesnil	Demesne (3 $\frac{3}{4}$ hid.)	G Abp Stigand; a socman ...	G
	a socman	his man and bailiff $\frac{1}{2}$ hid. S	
H Canons Waltham	Demesne (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	H Ch. of Holy Cross Waltham	H
b Count Alan <i>in Ches-</i>	<i>hunt</i> Wimund	b Alsí man of Eddeva S ...	b
c Alwin Dodesdone	King's thegn	c Ulward m. of Asgar staller S	c
I Ralf Bangiard ...	Demesne (3 $\frac{1}{4}$ hid.)	I Alwin thegn of E. Harold S	I
K Pet. d. Valonges ...	Aldene	K Aldene a King's thegn S ...	K
L Hard. d. Scalers ...	Demesne (4 hid.) ...	L Achi thegn of E. Harold S	L
M do.	Demesne (3 hid.) ...	M King's alms. Semar priest 2 h.;	M
		Leve a wid. 2 h. Ulric Werden 1 h.	
N Hugh d. Belcamp	Two knights	N Brand huscarl of King Ed.	N
b G. d. Mandeville ...	Huard	b Turchil m. of Asgar staller S	b
c Geoffrey d. Bech	Demesne (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	c Anand huscarl of King Ed.	c
	2 frenchmen	a socman $\frac{1}{4}$ hid. S	
d do.	Demesne (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	d Elaf a King's thegn	d
	4 knights 4 hid. ...		
e do.	Three knights	e Walcra, Lepsi, Alestan S a ...	e
f do.	Roger	f 4 King's socmen S a	f
g do.	priest & frenchman	g 2 do. S a	g
h Count Alan	?	h Snerrí man of Edeva fair S	h
i Pet. d. Valonges ...	?	i Elmer d. Belintone K's thegn	i
O Canons Waltham	Demesne (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	O Ch. of Holy Cross Waltham	O
b G. d. Mandeville ...	Walter	b Oswi man of Asgar staller S	b
c Baldwin a King's	thegn	c Three brothers S	c
d Geoffrey d. Bech	Isenbard	d Leveron m. of Abp Stigand S	d
P do.	Demesne (1 $\frac{3}{4}$ hid.)	P Ulwin man of Earl Harold	P
Q do.	Wido a priest	Q Godwin a King's thegn S ...	Q
R do.	Godwin	R the same Godwin S	R
S do.	Geoffrey Runevile	S Two King's thegns S	S
T A priest in alms of	the King	T the priest in alms of K. Ed.	T
V A priest and his	sister	V the same two S	V
b Hard. d. Scalers ...	Baldwin	b not given	b
W G. d. Mandeville ...	Germund	W Burg man of Asgar S	W
X Eudo dapifer ...	Hunfrid	X Lefsi a King's bailiff	X

B. Pastura ad pecuniam et 2s. The reeve shared in the teams.

C. ?17¹⁰ or 27 teams, or 23 teamlands. 'Silva 200 porc. et 40d; 10 mercatores; 10s. de consuetudine; de gurgite 16d.'

D. 'De gurgite' 10 eels.

Db. 21 eels. **Dc.** 22 eels.

Dd. 4 hid. less 30 a. Fishery 150 eels.

G. MS. pratum 6s. From hay 4 s.

Hb. 'De dimidio gurgite' 50 eels.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	cott	serv
³ 200	...	...	A Hertford ...	10										
² 26	500	20 ^p	B Bayford ⁿ P ...	10	20	20	8	16	3	15 ²	22 ⁿ	...	9	1 A
		(2s)	<i>Begesford</i>											
10	1200	23 ^p	C Cheshunt ⁿ P M ...	20	33 ⁿ	30	22	24	4 ³	17 [?]	41	12	8	6 C
	40d		<i>Cestrehunt</i>											
	260	4 ^p	D Hoddesdon ⁿ ...	2 ³ / ₄	4	in	C		2	2	2	8	...	1 D
...	50	1 ^p	b Hodesdone ⁿ v.p.96	1	1	2	¹ / ₄	¹ / ₄	1	...	...	3	...	...
...	50	1 ^p	c in do. ...	1	1	2	¹ / ₄	¹ / ₄	1	...	...	3	2	1 c
...	20	4 ^p	d in Odesdone ⁿ ...	3 ³ / ₄	3	3	1 ¹ / ₂	3	1	1 ¹	4	2	5	2 d
...	10	2 ^p	E in Dodesdone ...	10 ¹ / ₂	2	1 ¹ / ₂	¹ / ₂	1	1 ¹ / ₂	...	1	...	3	2 E
6	200	16 ^p	F Amwell P ...	14 ¹ / ₂	14 ¹ / ₂	16	18	12	14 ¹ / ₂	2 ²	8 ⁴	24	7	19 2 F
	10s		<i>Emmewelle</i>								4f			
8	200	76 ⁿ	G Broxbourn ⁿ P ...	5 ¹ / ₂	6	7	3	4	1	5	4	2	...	2 G
			<i>Brochesborne</i>											
...	300	4 ^p	H Wormley ...	5	4	5	4	4	1 ¹	2	5	4	3	2 H
...	150	2 ^p	b Wernelai ⁿ ...	1 ¹ / ₂	2	3	2	2	1	1	...	6	1	...
...	150	2 ^p	c in do. ...	14 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	2	3	2 ¹ / ₂	2	...	2	6	...	1 c
² 6 ⁿ	200	3 ^{pn}	I Hertingfordbury ...	5	10	10	6	8	2 ¹	5 ²	5	6	11	4 I
...	7s ⁿ		<i>Herefordingberie</i>								f			
8	50	2 ^p	K Tewing ⁿ v.p.97 ...	5 ¹ / ₂	5 ¹ / ₂	4	1 ¹ / ₂	3	1 ¹	3 ¹ / ₂	4	5	5	1 K
		2s	<i>in Teuvinge</i>											
...	100	1 ^p	L Bramtfield ...	5	6	5	2	4	1 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	10	...	...	1 L
		1s	<i>Brandefelle</i>											
...	50	3	M Berkhamptstead ...	5	8	5	2 ¹ / ₂	5	2 ¹	4 ¹	6	5	6	1 M
			<i>Berchehamslede</i>											
6 ² / ₃	20	3 ^p	N Bengoe M ...	6	8	6	3	3	2	2 ⁴	7	6	...	2 N
10	4!	1 ^p	b in Belingehou ...	3 ¹ / ₄	4	4	2	2 ¹ / ₄	1 ¹	2	3	2	6	...
...	f	2 ^{pn}	c in do. M ...	5 ¹ / ₄	5	8	5	5	1 ¹	3	2	6	34	...
		(8d)									2f			
...	30	3 ^p	d in do. M ...	6 ¹ / ₂	8	8	3	5	?	...	...	10	...	5 d
									3 ¹ / ₂	0 ⁴ / ₂	2	...	...	...
...	h	¹ / ₂	e in do. ...	1 ³ / ₈	3	2	1	1	3?	0	...	4	...	...
...	...	...	f in do. ...	1 ³ / ₈	2	2	1	1	...	1 ¹	4	...	...	...
...	...	...	g in do. ...	⁷ / ₈	1	¹ / ₂	¹ / ₄	¹ / ₄	¹ / ₂	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	¹ / ₄	h in do. ...	¹ / ₄	¹ / ₂	¹ / ₄	¹ / ₄	¹ / ₄	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	¹ / ₈	i in do. ...	25	¹ / ₈	¹ / ₂	¹ / ₄	¹ / ₄	...	¹ / ₂	1	...	...	...
8	200	2 ^{pn}	O Brickendon ...	5	8	8	5	5	2 ¹	4 ¹	9	9	24	2 O
...	40	...	b in Brichendone ...	¹ / ₄	¹ / ₂	¹ / ₂	¹ / ₄	¹ / ₄	¹ / ₂	...	...	...	1	...
...	40	...	c in do. ...	³ / ₄	1	³ / ₄	¹ / ₂	¹ / ₂	1	...	...	...	...	...
...	40	1	d in do. ...	1 ¹ / ₄	1	2	¹ / ₂	¹ / ₂	1	...	...	...	...	...
...	50	1 ^p	P Hailey(et)bury ⁿ ...	9 ¹ / ₄	2	2	4	¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	¹ / ₂	2	2	3	1 P
5	50	1 ^p	Q in Roches-Roxford ...	¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1	³ / ₄	³ / ₄	1 ¹ / ₂	...	...	3	...	...
2	f	1 ^p	R in Sela see V.H. ...	¹ / ₂	1	¹ / ₂	¹ / ₂	¹ / ₂	1	...	...	...	...	2 R
...	40	2 ^p	S in Blachemene do. ...	1	2	2	³ / ₄	³ / ₄	1 ¹	...	1	2	...	...
1	...	1	T in Thepecampe do. ...	¹ / ₂	1	1	³ / ₄	³ / ₄	1	...	...	...	...	2 T
...	15	¹ / ₂	V in Bricewolde ...	³ / ₄	2	¹ / ₂	¹ / ₂	¹ / ₂	1 ¹	...	1	...	1	...
...	15	¹ / ₂	b in do. ...	³ / ₄	2	1	¹ / ₂	¹ / ₄	...	1 ¹	2	3	...	...
...	100	1 ¹ / ₂	W in Stiwiwesworde ...	1	1 ¹ / ₂	2	1	1	1 ¹ / ₂	...	...	...	3	2 W
6 ² / ₃	50	...	X in this hund. ...	5 ¹ / ₂	¹ / ₂	2	3	3	1	1	...	4	7	...
				139 ³ / ₄	181	176		125	49	83	168	114	151	43

I. From wood and pasture 7s.
No. Pastura ad pecuniam et 8d.
O. Pastura ad pecuniam et 2s.
P. See p.94. 'De gurgite' 50 eels.

KL RS TN A F
 QI O P
 M B D
 G H
 C

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
X The King	Demesne (2 hid.)...	X Earl Harold, 'it lay in Hiz but the wara lay in Beds.' X
A The King	Demesne (1 hid.)...	A Earl Harold... .. A
b <i>monasterium</i> ⁿ	2 hides (1½ hid.) ...	b b
B The King	a socman	B Leveva of Earl Harold S ... B
C do.	5 socmen	C the 5 socmen a, S sine soca C
b do.	Edward d. Periton	b Alwin m. of Stigand S do. b
c do.	a socman	c Abo m. of E. Harold S do.
d William d. Ow	William d. Mara ...	d the socm. from E. Har. a S do. c
e The King	3 knights ?	d Alestan d. Boscumbe K's thegn d
D do.	Demesne (1 hid.)...	e 2 socm. from Har. S; soc in Hiz e
b do.	a socman	D Earl Harold... .. D
c do.	a socman	b Godwin m. of Har. S; soc in Hiz b
E do.	Demesne (3½ hid.)	c Edward m. of Har. a, S sine soca
F do.	Demesne (½ hid.)...	E 2 socm. from E. Har. M M S a E
<i>the widow</i>	of Asgar 1 hid. M	F Leveva (?1 hid.) of E. Harold S a F
b do.	3 socmen	Asgar's wife 1 hid. of E. Har. S a
c do.	(? Demesne)	b 3 men of Earl Algar b
G Ranulf bro. Ilger... ..	William... ..	c Earl Harold... .. c
H Ab. St. Alban's	(? Demesne)	G Turbern man of the King S G
I Bp of Bayeux	Ralf	H Church of St. Alban H
K The King	2 frenchmen	I Alveva, E. Morcar's mother S I
b Geof. d. Bech	a King's socman ...	K the socm. m. of St. Alban's S K
c Ab. St. Alban's	Ralf	b Alric m. of Asgar, a, soc in Hiz, S sine soca b
<i>Geof. d.</i>	Demesne (4 hid.)...	c Church of St. Alban c
L Geof. d. Bech	Bech ½ h.; englishm. 3	L Leveva of Earl Harold L
M Ralf d. Limesi	Demesne (2 hid.)...	a socman ⅞ hid. S a
<i>an English</i>	knight; 2 ? socmen	M Abp Stigand; M
N The King	a socman	2 socmen L
b Pet. d. Valonges	?	N the socman man of E. Har. S a N
		b Alvrice m. of Elmer d. Belint. S a b

A. "Hiz with appurtenancies pays (1086) 106*l.* burnt and weighed and 10*l.* by tale; when Peter the sheriff received it 86*l.*; T.R.E. from Hiz 60*l.*, de socch 40*l.* by tale." What is included in these figures is not clear, so the 34 car. have been taken at 35*l.*

Ab. The 'Rectory' manor of 480 a (intermixed) which had been given to the nunnery of Elstow Beds by Judith. Monast. iii. 411 e, Clutterbuck iii. 13 note.

M. From pasture and wood 10*s.*

X. Properly Weston Ing.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086	demmen		vill	bor	cott	serv
...	400	7 ^p	X Westoning ⁿ (Beds) <i>Westone v.p.98</i>	5	14	...	...	...	2	5 ⁵	16	3	...	4 X
453 ¹ / ₃	600	4 ^p	A Hitchin ⁿ	5	34	[35]	— ⁿ	[35]	6	20 ⁸	41	17	22	12 A
...	...	1 ^p	b Hiz ⁿ ... ..	...	4	4	2	6	1 ¹	2	4	...	7	... b
...	<i>f</i>	^p	B Wellbury <i>Welle</i>	1	5	3	2	1 ¹ / ₈	1 ²	1 ¹	...	4	...	... B
...	120	1 ^p	C Offley, Little	2	9	4 ¹ / ₅	4 ¹ / ₅	4 ¹ / ₅	...	8 ¹	2	17	3	3 C
...	<i>f</i>	...	b in Offlelei	2 ¹ / ₄	2	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₈	1 ¹ / ₄	...	11 ¹ / ₂	1	...	...	... b
...	...	...	c in alia Offlelei	1	2	1 ¹ / ₅	1 ¹ / ₅	1 ¹ / ₅	1 ¹	...	1	1	1	... c
...	12!	^p	d in Offlelei P v.p.96...	8 ⁸	16	15	8	11	4	9 ³	16	8	4	8 d
1 ² / ₅	...	...	e Charlton <i>Cerletone</i>	13	1 ¹ / ₄	1	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1	...	...	...	2	... e
...	300	^p	D Welei V.H. 1. 297...	2	7	...	...	...	2	4 ¹	8	5	2	4 D
...	50 ^f	1 ^p	b in do.	1	2	1 ¹ / ₂	1	1	2	...	2	1	9	... b
...	<i>f</i>	...	c in Wilei... ..	1 ¹ / ₂	1	4 ¹ / ₅	1 ¹ / ₄	1 ¹ / ₂	1	...	...	...	1	... c
216	300	1 ^p	E Temple Dinsley 10 ¹ / ₂ <i>Deneslai</i>	7	20	19	19	19	3	8 ⁹	19	7	7	6 E
...	400	1 ^p	F King's Walden	2	10	10	8	8	2	6 ²	13	4	2	4 F
...	400	...	<i>Waldenei</i>	...	10	8	4	4	1	6 ³	17	7	5	...
...	40	...	b in Leglega (V.H.)	1 ¹ / ₄	11 ¹ / ₂	11 ¹ / ₅	11 ¹ / ₅	11 ¹ / ₅	11 ¹ / ₂	...	...	4	...	... b
...	40	...	c Wandon <i>Wavedene</i>	2 ³ / ₄	...	...	...	...	...	2 ³ / ₄	6	...	...	... c
...	20	...	G Stagenhoe <i>in Stagenhou</i>	1	3	4	1	2 ¹ / ₂	1	1 ¹	6	...	2	... G
...	<i>f</i>	1 ^p	H Bendish <i>Benedis</i>	5	1	2	2	2 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	...	2	4	...	2 ... H
8	800	3 ⁴	I Kimpton <i>Kamintone</i>	4	4	10	15	12	12	2 ¹	7	12	2	3 5 I
...	...	...	K in Hexton	1 ¹ / ₄	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₆	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	...	1	...	...	... K
31 ¹ / ₃	...	1 ^p	b in Hegestanesstone...	1	1 ¹ / ₂	2	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	...	...	2	2	... b
231 ¹ / ₃	...	2 ^p	c in do.	10	8 ³ / ₄	12	16	12	17 ¹ / ₂	4 ¹	3 ⁴	13	3	3 4 c
...	6?	^p	L Lilley P <i>Linlei</i>	5	9	7	5	5	3	5 ¹	19	6	4	6 L
473 ¹ / ₃	500	10 ^p	M Pirton P v.p.96 <i>Peritone</i>	10	20	25	22	20	6	12 ²	25	29	12	10 M
...	5	^p	N in Flexmere (? Beds)	1 ¹ / ₈	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₄	1 ¹ / ₆	1 ¹ / ₆	1 ¹ / ₂	...	...	...	4	... N
3	5	...	b in Flesmere	1 ¹ / ₈	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₆	3 ¹ / ₂₀	3 ¹ / ₂₀	...	...	...	1	...	... b
Without Westoning				62 ³ / ₄	186	176	...	171	44	97	210	118	97	62

For the king's land D.B. gives various testimony of the 'shire' as to land or service annexed to Hiz by Harold or the sheriffs, Ilbert d. Hertford, Peter d. Valonges and Ralf Talgebosc; also much other detail which cannot be given here.

K M
B A
L C
F E
H G
I

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Bp of Bayeux ...	Osbern ...	A 2 socm. m. of Stigand $1\frac{1}{2}$ h. S A socm. m. of Almar d. Belint. 1h. S
b Harduin d. Scalers	Tetbald...	b Alward man of Earl Algar S b
c Canons of St. Paul's	Demesne ($1\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	c St. Paul... c
B do. ...	Demesne (5 hid.) ...	B Church of St. Paul ... B
C do. ...	Demesne (3 hid.) ...	C do. ... C
D Bp of Winchester	Demesne ($1\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	D Ch. of St. Peter Winchester D
E Bp of Chester ...	Demesne (2 hid.) ... 2 socmen $\frac{3}{4}$ hid.	E Lemar m. of Abp Stigand S E the same 2 socmen $\frac{3}{4}$ hid. L
F Ab. of Ramsey ...	Demesne ($3\frac{1}{2}$ hid.) a frenchman	F St. Benedict (Ramsey) ... F
b Hard. d. Scalers ...	Wigar ...	b Alric priest under Ab. Ramsey L b
G Ab. of Ely ...	Demesne (2 hid.) ...	G The Church of Ely ... G
H Ab. St. Alban's ...	Demesne ($1\frac{3}{4}$ hid.)	H The Church of St. Alban ... H
I Bp of Bayeux ...	Adam ...	I Alnod man of Abp Stigand S I
b Pet. d. Valonges ...	Roger ...	b Elmer d. Belintone; his brother b $\frac{1}{2}$ h., 'he was Elmer's man' S
K Ab. Westminster...	Demesne ($2\frac{1}{2}$ hid.) Peter sheriff 1h.; G.d. Man	K Ch. of St. Peter Westminster K deville $\frac{1}{4}$ hid. and the mill
b Pet. d. Valonges ...	Demesne ($\frac{3}{4}$ hid.) ...	b Elmer d. Belintone K's thegn S b
c Hard. d. Scalers ...	Tetbald...	c Uctred under Rob. f. Wimarc L c
d G. d. Mandeville ...	Germund ...	d Godeva of Asgar L ... d
L Ralf d. Limesi ...	Demesne ($1\frac{3}{8}$ hid.)	L Lemar m. of Abp Stigand S L
M do. ...	?	M Lemar m. of do. S M
b G. d. Mandeville ...	Germund ...	b Ulric man of Asgar S ... b
N William de Ow ...	Two knights ...	N 3 socm. Sa, m. of King (2) $2\frac{1}{8}$ h., N of Alestan d. Boscumbe $\frac{1}{4}$ h.
b Hard. d. Scalers ...	Tetbald...	b 6 socm. S, m. of Elmer d. Bel. $1\frac{1}{4}$ a, of Stigand $\frac{1}{2}$ h., of King $\frac{1}{4}$ h. a
c Pet. d. Valonges ...	Demesne ⁿ ($\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	c Elmer [d. Belintone]... c as berewick of Ashwell
O Hard. d. Scalers ...	Wisgar ...	O 2 socmen of Abp Stigand S O
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Osbern ...	b 3 men of Abp Stigand S ... b
P C. Eustace ...	Robert f. Rozelin...	P Alward man of E. Harold S P
b Hard. d. Scalers ...	Demesne ($3\frac{1}{2}$ ⁶ hid.)	b Siret m. of E. Harold $4\frac{3}{4}$ h. S b Sinod m. of St. M. Cetriz 1 h. S
c Count Alan ...	Harduin ...	c Leuing priest m. of Eddeva S c
d do. ...	Alward ...	d Turbern man of Eddeva S... d
e Eudo dapifer ...	?	e Sinod m. of Ch. of Chatteris S e
f Bp of Bayeux ...	Osbern ...	f Eddeva puella, homo Stigandi S f

B. Two figures in the printed D.B. differ from the facsimile in this entry.

Pb. In demesne $3\frac{1}{2}$ hid. 8 a.

C and **F.** If vi and x hid. are not slips for v and ix, these manors had annexed 1 hide each from elsewhere.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	cott	serv
...	f	...	A Luffenhall ...	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	3	2	2	3	2	3	3	4	A
...	...	...	in Lufenhale	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	b in Lufenel ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	...	2	...	b
...	f	...	c in Lufenelle ...	5	2	2	1	1	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	...	c
...	150	2 ^p	B Sandon P ...	10	20	20	22	22 ⁿ	6	12 ¹	24	12	16	B
...	...	...	Sandone	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	200	1 ^p	C Yardley ...	26 ⁿ	10	10	7	7	2 ¹	7	12	6	2	C
...	...	...	Erdelei	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	100	...	D Cottered ...	5	6	6	2	3	1	5	13	6	...	D
...	Is	...	Chodrei	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	...	...	E Bygrave P ...	5	12	12	8	10	3	9	10	9	6	E
...	...	...	Bigrave	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	20	...	F Tharfield ⁿ P ...	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	20	12	10	11	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 ⁶	27	...	14	F
...	...	...	in Furrewelde	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	b in Derevelde ...	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	2	...	2	b
...	...	1 ^p	G Kelshall ...	5	10	10	10	10	3 ¹	6	12	9	...	G
...	...	...	Chelselle	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	1 ^p	H Newnham ...	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	8	10	9	9	2	4 ²	10	8	3	H
...	...	...	Neuham	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	...	1 ^p	I Radwell ...	4	7	10	2	5	2 ²	3	8	4	...	I
6 $\frac{2}{3}$	...	1 ^p	b in Radewelle ...	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	3	...	...	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	5	...	b
...
24	100	6 ^p	K Ashwell ⁿ P ...	6	12	22	20	20	2	5 ⁵	16	9	9	K
10	...	...	Escewelle	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	...	1 ^p	b in do. M ...	2	6	7	3	5	2	4	8	8	2	b
...	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	c in do. ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	0	...	...	6	c
...	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	d in Ascewelle ...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	2	...	d
...	...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	L Caldecote P ...	10	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	5	5	2	2	[1] 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	...	4	L
...	...	...	Caldecote	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	M in Hainstone ...	9 $\frac{9}{16}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	1	M
...	...	1 ^p	b in do. v.p.97 M ...	2 $\frac{1}{16}$	2	4	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	[3]	...	1 ¹	5	4	...	b
...	...	1 ^p	N Hinxworth ...	21 $\frac{1}{8}$	2	3	1	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	...	2	4	...	3	N
...	...	...	in Hainsteworde	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	1 ^p	b in Haingesteworde ...	2	2	3	1	2	...	2	5	...	3	b
...	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	c in Hainsteworde ...	8	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	4	2	c
...	...	0 ^p	O in Ordewelle ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁿ	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{2}{5}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	...	3	O
...	...	...	b in do. v.p.97 ...	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	...	1	2	...	...	b
...	...	1 ^p	P in Reed Rete ...	4 $\frac{3}{8}$	5	4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	2	3	7	2	...	P
...	10	1 ^p	b in Retth P ...	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	6	6	4	5	2	4	10	5	2	b
...	f	...	c in do. ...	1	3	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 ²	...	1	...	...	c
...	...	...	d in do. ...	1	3	3	1	1	1 ²	...	...	...	6	d
...	...	...	e in do. ...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{10}$	1 $\frac{1}{10}$	1 $\frac{1}{10}$	...	...	...	...	...	e
...	...	...	f in do. ...	1	3	3	3	2	1 ¹	1	...	6	...	f

D. Silva 100 porc. et 12d.
K. 14 burghesses; for toll and customs
of the burgh 49s. 4d.
O. '1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hide less 5 acres.'

N K north part
L H
I E G F P
Q B

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
Q Goisbert de Beau-	-vais.] Fulk	Q Edric man of Earl Asgar S
b Harduin d. Scalers	Siward	socm. m. of Eddeva fair 24 a. S
c Rob. Gernon ...	William; <i>a frenchm.</i>	b Ulwar m. of Anschil d. Ware S
d Count Allan ...	Wimund	c Alvríc m. of Godw. f. Ulestan S
e G. d. Mandeville...	Siward	d 2 socm. men of Eddeva S ...
R Bp of Bayeux ...	Osbern	e Edred man of Asgar S ...
b Count Alan ...	Leviet <i>in Munden</i>	{ Alnod Grut m. of Abp Stigand S
c William de Ow ...	(? Demesne)	R 3 socm. m. of Abp. $2\frac{3}{4}$ hid. S <i>a</i>
d Hard. d. Scalers ...	Tetbald	{ 2 socmen do. $\frac{1}{8}$ hid. S
S Sigar d. Cioches ...	Dem. (3 hid.) <i>a socm.</i>	b Asgot man of Eddeva S ...
T do. ...	(? Demesne)	c Alestan [de Boscumbe] ...
b Hard. d. Scalers ...	Tetbald	d Turbert, a priest of Abp, S...
c Earl Roger ...	?	S 2 socm. m. of Abp Stigand S
d Bp of Chester ...	?	T Ansgot m. of Abp Stigand S
		b 2 brothers m. of Abp Stigand S
		c Gode of Queen Edith S ...
		d Ledmær m. of Abp Stigand S

TRE(D)UNGE (TRING, NOW IN DACORUM)

A C. Eustace ...	Demesne (12 hid.)	{ Engelric. 2 socm. m. of Osulf	A
b C. of Mortain ...	3 socmen 1 hid.	{ f. Frane 2 h. S; a m. of Ab.	
B C. of Mortain ...	Ranulf	{ of Ramsey 5 hid. S	
C do. ...	Demesne (6 hid.) ...	b a socman huscarl of King S	b
b do. ...	Lewin <i>ad firmam</i>	a socman man of E. Lewin S	
D do. ...	Hunfrid	B Alwin King's thegn	B
E Maino Breton ...	(? Demesne)	C Edmar thegn of E. Harold	C
b C. of Mortain ...	a widow	b the same Lewin S	b
F do. ...	(? Demesne)	D a man of Engelric $3\frac{1}{6}$ hid. L;	D
G Rob. d. Todeni ...	Ralf	m. of Q. $3\frac{1}{2}$; m. of Osulf $\frac{1}{2}$ h. S	
b C. of Mortain ...	Ralf	E Engelric	E
H do. ...	Fulcold	b Ingelric	b
I Bp of Bayeux ...	Roger	F Eddeva nun, <i>de</i> Ingelric ...	F
K Robert d'Oily ...	Ralf Basset	G Osulf f. Frane King's thegn	G
b do. ...	Martel	b Wiga man of Osulf f. Frane	b
c Ed. d. Salisbury ...	<i>attached to</i>	H Eddeva <i>de</i> Ingelric	H
sheriff.	<i>Gaddesden</i>	I Earl Lewin	I
		{ 5 socmen; 2 m. of Brictric $1\frac{1}{2}$ h.	
		K 2 m. of Osulf f. Frane $1\frac{1}{2}$ hid.	K
		{ 1 m. of Edmer Atule 1 hid.	
		b Alvríc m. of Earl Wallef S...	b
		c (St Alban's) Wlwen for life	c

Qc. 3 hid. less 20 a. **Qd.** 2 hid. less 10 a.**Ra.** The 3 socmen who held $2\frac{3}{4}$ hid. T.R.E., apparently of the King's soc, 'did not belong to the manor but were added to**Ab.** **Kc.** The grouping of these is conjectural.
A. *Pastura pecuniæ et* 3s.; in a berewick 8 vill. with 2^l car. Also other details.**B.** *Pratum* dim. hid. (?)it T.R.W.' The other 2 socmen who held $\frac{1}{2}$ virg. 'are there' in 1086, though not mentioned among the team-holders.**C.** Silva 1000 porc. et 5s.; fossarius $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.; 52 burghesses; tolls 4*l.*, 2 arpens vines.**Cb.** Value in D.B. 20s. 9*d.*

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086	demmen		vill	bor	cott	serv
...	f	p	Q Wallington ... <i>in Wallington</i>	3 ⁴⁰	5	5	1½	2½	2	2 ¹	4	3	1	2 Q
...	...	...	b <i>in do.</i>	1½ ²⁶	2	1½	1	1¼	1 ¹	...	...	3	...	b
...	f	p	c <i>in do.</i> ⁿ P	2½ ⁿ	4	5	3	1½ ¹⁵	2 ²	f3	...	6	...	c
...	...	p	d <i>in do.</i> ⁿ	1½ ¹²	2	3	½	1½	1 ¹	f	...	2	2	d
...	...	...	e <i>in do.</i> v.p. 105	10 ⁶	1¼	½	½	¾	0½	...	...	1	...	e
...	f	p	R Clothall ... <i>in Cladhele</i>	7½	10	10	5	7	2 ¹	7	8	12	3	4 R
...	...	...	b <i>in do.</i>	¼	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	b
...	...	...	c <i>in do.</i>	½ ⁿ	½	½	½	½	½	...	...	...	...	c
...	...	...	d <i>in do.</i>	8½	½ ⁿ	½	¼	¼	...	...	...	...	...	d
...	50	½p	S Rushden Risendene	5	8	[10]	5½	5½	2 ¹	5	8	3	3	4 S
...	50	½p	T <i>in Broadfield</i>	1½ ⁸	2	3	1½	1½	...	1 ¹	4	2	...	T
...	...	½p	b <i>in Bradefelle</i>	1½ ⁸	1	2	½	1	1	...	...	3	1	2 b
...	40	...	c <i>in Bradfell</i>	½	½	½	¼	¼	0 ¹	...	...	...	...	c
...	...	...	d <i>in Bradefella</i>	3	¼	¼	¼	¾	...	...	...	...	...	1 d
				116¼	198	208		156	53	103	219	132	105	83

TRE(D)UNGE (TRING, NOW IN DACORUM)

2	9	1000	10 ^p	A Tring ⁿ ... <i>Trcunge</i>	39	20	25	20	22	3 ²	11 ⁷	29	6	16	8 A
...	...	100	1 ^p	b Scenlei ⁿ v.p. 97	1	2	4	3	¼	1 ¹	...	...	2	...	b
...	...	500	— ⁿ	B Aldbury ... <i>Aldeberie</i>	10	7	8	8	5½	3	4	8	...	1	4 B
2	20	1000	8 ^p	C Berkhamstead ⁿ P	13	26	24	20	16	3 ³	12 ⁸	14	15	...	6 C
...	...	...	½	b <i>Bure</i> v.p. 97	14½	1½	1 ⁿ	½	1 ⁿ	1	...	...	4	...	b
5	100	1		D Wigginton ... <i>Wigentone</i>	4½	5	6	2	4	1 ¹	2 ¹	5	...	6	1 D
...	...	...	...	E <i>in Dunsley</i>	½	½	½	½	½	...	...	...	...	...	E
...	...	...	...	b <i>in Deneslai</i>	½	½	½	½	½	...	...	...	...	...	b
...	...	...	1½	F Pendley ... <i>in Pentlai</i>	10	2	2	1	1½	...	1 ¹	1	6	...	F
...	...	500	7 ^p	G Misswell ...	14 ⁿ	7	8	7	9 ⁿ	2	5	15	4	...	G
...	...	...	½	b <i>in Mi(a)ssewelle</i>	½	½	½	½	½	...	...	...	...	...	b
12½	...	...	2	H Bubble-Gubblecot	1½	1½	2	1½	1½	1	½	3	2	...	H
2	10½	...	4 ^p	I Puttenham ... <i>Puteham</i>	20	4	4	4	3	1 ¹	2	4	2	4	2 I
...	...	500	3	K Tiscot M ... <i>Theisseccote</i>	4 ⁿ	4	5	4	3½	2	2	3½	5	1	1 K
...	...	2	1	b <i>in Polehanger</i> p. 98	½	1	½	½	½	1	...	...	...	2	2 b
5	500	...	...	c <i>in Tring hund.</i> <i>in Gatesdene</i> ⁿ	1		in	Gad	des	den					c
					100	81	90		68	19	40	82½	42	34	24

Ra. See opposite.**Rb.** ½ virg plus 3 acres.**Rc.** 1 virg less 3 acres.**S.** MS 'valuit 10s.' probably for 10l. or it may be for cxl, clx or cxxs.**Db, E, F, H.** These 7 hides were taken from Tring by the Count of Mortain.**G.** T.R.W. 3½ hid. Valet 100s. and 1 oz. gold Pastura pecuniæ et 2s.**K.** T.R.W. 2 hides. **Kc.** In Danais H^a, p. 109.

south part

Q	B
R	S T
A	D
C	

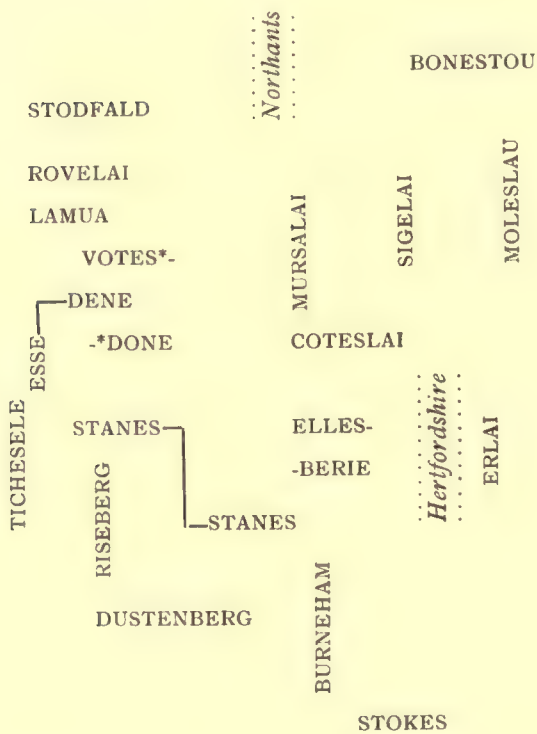
ODSEY

K	I H	B
G A E F		
D		
C		

TRING

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Diagram of the Hundreds.



NOTE ON THE TABLES FOR BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

The survey of Buckinghamshire seems to have been carefully compiled with the exception of the rubrics. Where the actually existing teams were less than the teamlands, the number of further teams that 'could be used' is always given; even if the estimates for these possible teams may sometimes be artificial, the system shows a desire to be accurate. In nine cases out of ten the number of actual and possible teams together is exactly equal to that of the teamlands; where it is not, the difference is rarely more than one team. There is no mention of churches and almost none of priests. The general style of the Survey is very similar to that for Herts, but there are one or two differences which make it very doubtful if both can have been compiled by the same hand. The relation between them is discussed in the note to Hertfordshire (p. 95). The manorial rubric *M*, which is rare in Herts, is as common in Bucks as it is in Middlesex, and it is constantly said of other land that (in 1086) it was held "pro uno manerio." The distribution of these distinctions in Bucks is at first sight not clear, but an attempt to throw some light upon it has been made at the end of this note (p. 139).

The hundreds follow each other in every fief (except in the king's land, where Swanbourn in Mursalai comes next after Risborough) in one fixed order, as follows. Mursalai and Moleslau can always be distinguished by the first vowel, though they get as close as Muselai and Moselai.

I. 1 Stanes	III. 7 Tichesele	V. 13 Stodfald
2 Elesberie	8 Essedene	14 Rovelai
3 Riseberge	9 Votesdone	15 Lamua
II. 4 Stoches	IV. 10 Coteslai	VI. 16 Sigelai
5 Burneham	11 Erlai	17 Bonestou
6 Dustenberg	12 Mursalai	18 Moles(oves)lau

They seem to have been from old associated in six groups of three, the groups corresponding to the modern hundreds of I Aylesbury, II The three Chiltern hundreds, III Ashendon, IV Cottesloe, V Buckingham, VI Newport. To preserve this grouping the tables have been arranged according to these modern hundreds, thus—Chilterns, Aylesbury, Ashendon, Buckingham, Cottesloe, Newport. This order is likely to prove most convenient; except for the Chilterns it is practically alphabetical and has also the advantage of being a geographical arrangement.

It is plain from the fixed order of the hundreds in Domesday that the original return from which the compiler worked in Bucks was drawn up hundred by hundred in the form of the well-known Cambridgeshire Inquisition. Mr. Ragg, who has also noticed this fixed order of the

hundreds, points out that we can carry the evidence even further. In those hundreds which have several subdivided villages we can trace the order in which some of these villages were entered in the original return, for we find them repeated in the same order in different fiefs. Thus in the hundred of Coteslai we find the lands of (1) the Count of Mortain, (2) Miles Crispin and (3) William fitz Ansculf arranged thus:—

- (1) Wing, Crofton, Wingrave, Elstrop, Hardwick, 'Bricstoch'
- (2) Soulbury, Hollington, Wingrave, Littlecot, Hardwick, 'Bricstoch'
- (3) Soulbury, Hollington, Littlecot

Again in the hundred of Moleslau we have:—

Countess Judith.	Hardmead	Broughton, Milton
Walter Giffard.	Hardmead, Moulsoe,	Broughton, Milton

Though there is no case in this county of any hundred occurring out of its proper order, there are a number of rubrics omitted. Most of the king's manors have none. Wicumbe on f143 b 2 and Chentone (Quainton) on f152 b 1 have also no rubric; Dustenberge should have stood against the former and Essedene against the latter. Besides these there are a dozen omissions in the middle of a fief, which make three and twenty entries stand under the wrong hundreds;¹ in half of these cases (starred below) the same name has its proper rubric in some other fief. It seems practically certain that the rubrics of

- | | | | |
|---------|---|-----------|------------------------|
| 143 b 2 | Halton, and (144 a) Weston (Turville), Bedgrove and Bierton (Bortone) | should be | Elesberie not Stanes. |
| 145 a 1 | *Brickhill | " " | Moleslau not Bonestou. |
| 147 b 1 | *Langport, Akeley, Lillingston, *Morton and Leckhamstead | should be | Stodfald not Murselai |
| 147 b 2 | Edgcot (Achecote) | " " | Lamua not Rovelai |
| " " | *Woolston, Newton, *Loughton, *Bradwell and *Linford | should be | Sigelai not Rovelai |
| 148 a 2 | Adstock (Edestocke) | " " | Lamua not Sigelai |
| 148 b 2 | *Tyringham (Tedlingham) | " " | Bonestou not Sigelai |
| 150 b 1 | Creslow (Cresslai) | " " | Coteslai not Votesdone |
| 150 b 2 | *Hardmead, *Wavendon | " " | Moleslau not Sigelai |
| 151 a 1 | *'Berlave' (in Marlow) | " " | Dustenberge not Stanes |
| 152 a 1 | Aston (4½ hid.) | " " | Tichsele not Burnham. |

There seems no reason to think that any of the above estates had been moved out of their natural hundreds (unless Halton was really attached to Stanes) and the corrected rubrics fall into their proper places. Eton (151 a 1) is given as in Stoke hundred by the Hundred Rolls and is there now, but in Domesday it is distinctly rubricated Burnham. On the other hand Farnham Royal (151 b 1) is rubricated Stoke in Domesday, but was afterwards in Burnham and may have been there in 1086, for Burnham followed Stoke in the Domesday order. Hoggeston, which on f148 b 1 is rubricated Votesdone, would appear to have been actually in

¹ See Mr. A. Morley Davies' interesting paper on the Bucks hundreds in the Home Counties Magazine (VI. 134) April 1903, reprinted in the Bucks Architect. and Archaeolog. Soc. Records ix. 104. In a paper of 1899, depending on the identifications in Lysons, I gave a slightly different list of the wrong rubrics, but on taking up

the county again in 1902 and noticing the fixed order of the hundreds, several of the identifications proved to be wrong and my list had to be revised. I am glad to find that my revised list agrees with his except that 'Estone,' 152 a 1, is assigned here to Tichsele hundred, to which as part of Ashendon it now belongs.

that hundred in 1086 (though afterwards in Murslai), for it comes before Coteslai and Erlai hundreds, which are followed by Murslai.

On f151 b 2 the scribe has put the rubric Mursalai against * Westbury, * Dodford, and Radclive instead of that of the following hundred of Stodfald; i.e. having written Mursalai on his draft or got it into his mind, but found nothing to enter against it, he forgot to note that he had passed into the new hundred of Stodfald. This mistake appears to show that the rubrics were written, or at least indicated, by the compiler as he went along—a system confirmed for Beds by f216 b where the hundred rubric of 'in Bichelswade Hd' to the first column interferes with, and therefore preceded, the opposite entry in the second column. The entry for Hampden¹ comes at the end of the hundred of Elesberie, and it may be that it really belonged in 1086 to the hundred of Elesberie, not to the hundred of Stanes by which it is surrounded, but which would come before, not after, Elesberie; but it is more probable that the compiler had omitted to enter it in the proper place. As it is joined with Missenden in a 15 hide group it must have been originally in Stanes and it is placed under that hundred. On f150 a 1 we find $\frac{1}{2}$ hide in 'Estone' given at the end of a Desborough list and followed by Shabbington, which latter is correctly rubricated as in Tichesele. This $\frac{1}{2}$ hide is plainly a fragment of Aston Sandford, of which the other $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides on f152 a 1-2 should have been rubricated Tichesele.

After supplying the missing rubrics the hundreds work out thus;²

Burneham	104 $\frac{1}{4}$	say 105 hid.	Lamua	127	say 130 hid.
Dustenberg	148 $\frac{1}{2}$	„ 150	Stodfald	101	„ 105 (?100)
Stoches	113 $\frac{1}{2}$	„ 115 ^a	Rovelai	101	„ 105 ^b (?100)
	366 $\frac{1}{4}$	370		329	340 (?330)
Ellesberie	147 $\frac{3}{4}$	„ 150	Coteslai	142 $\frac{1}{2}$	„ 145
Riseberg	99 $\frac{1}{4}$	„ 100	Erlai	?120	„ 120 ^c
Stanes	135	„ 135	Mursalai	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	„ 100 ^d
	382	385		364	365
Essedene	112 $\frac{1}{4}$	„ 115	Bonestou	98 $\frac{1}{3}$	„ 100
Tichesele	122 $\frac{3}{4}$	„ 125	Moleslau	114 $\frac{1}{2}$	„ 115
Votesdone	99 $\frac{3}{4}$	„ 100	Sigelai	138 $\frac{1}{2}$	„ 140-5 ^e
	334 $\frac{3}{4}$	340		351 $\frac{1}{3}$	345-60

^a In correcting Stoches it is assumed that 3 hides of Iver (17 hid.) have been attached to Upton (18 hid.), or perhaps only $\frac{1}{2}$ hide had been moved, each being originally 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides. Langley Marisc, which now lies between them, was in the 13th century attached to Wirardisbury, but is separated from it by Horton and Datchet.

^b Rovelai will be 100 and Stodfald 110, if Caversfield (5 hid.) is rejected from Rovelai as properly in Oxfordshire and replaced by adding to Stodfald the 5 of Lillingston Lovell.

^c In Erlai 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 6 hides at Pitston annexed by Turgis (146 a-b) are taken to be included in previous entries.

^d Mursalai is 100 correcting Salden (6 hid.) and Shingleborough (6 hid.) as 5 each; if we take each as 10, it will give 110.

^e Sigelai is 145 correcting Shenley (7 hid.) and Linford (7 hid.) as 10 each; perhaps they should be only 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ each, but they are separated by Loughton.

¹ D.B. 148 b 2. It is written Hādenham, and was taken by Lysons to be Haddenham, but it has a great deal of wood and is clearly Hampden.

² This list differs a good deal from the one given in 1899; a misunderstanding led to the

omission of some dozen entries; unluckily the total, though defective, agreed closely with that given by Professor Maitland, so that it was accepted without further examination and the mistake was only discovered after the paper was printed.

For the whole county the hides recorded are 2128; corrected they seem to be 2150-60. The exact correction is necessarily doubtful, but we may note, for what it is worth, that on a duodecimal basis 2160 is a round figure, for it is $12 \times 120 + 6 \times 120$, and in the County Hidage Oxfordshire has 2400 hides and several other counties either 1200 or 2400. This 2160 includes the 5 hides of Caversfield, a detached piece of the hundred of Rovelai 3 miles within the Oxfordshire border; but the total will not be altered if Caversfield is transferred from Bucks to Oxfordshire and replaced by the 5 hides of Lillingston Lovell, which are surveyed by Domesday in Oxfordshire, but lie far from Oxfordshire, between the edge of Stodfold hundred and Northants, and look as if they had once belonged to Buckinghamshire.

The peculiar shape of the county, by which several of the hundreds are more or less isolated, should make it a good test of the theory that each hundred had originally 100 hides. The grouping of the hundreds by threes looks ancient and seems to fix their original number at eighteen, but there are a good many more hides in the county than 18×100 . Mr. W. J. Corbett has suggested that each of the eighteen hundreds had originally 100 hides, and that the assessment had been increased;¹ but if the original assessment was distributed among the villages, it seems practically impossible to reconcile with the 5-hide system increases in the assessment of the hundreds from 100 original hides to 120, 130 or 140. If the original hidation was distributed on a 5-hide basis, such increases would disturb, if not altogether destroy, the 5-hide system;² if on some other basis or on no particular basis, the varying increases could hardly have been distributed so as to produce in all hundreds the general 5-hide system which we find in Domesday. The only way to reconcile an increase of assessment with the 5-hide system would be to suppose that under the original system, in the beginning of all things, each hundred was rated at 100 hides (or at 100 equivalents of the later hide), but that the hundred met its obligation in money or service as one body, without any regular distribution of the burden among the villages, and that distribution was only introduced after the rating of the hundreds was increased, such distribution being then made in 5-hide units.

There is not much to be said about the identifications. 'Bricstoch' in Coteslai is identified by the Victoria History with Burston; there is a Stock Grove in the northern point of Coteslai close to Brichelle (in Moulsoe) now Brickhill, but the evidence for Burston appears good. 'Langrave' in Coteslai seems rightly identified with (le) Grove near Mentmore, though their joint hides are a little over the round 20. 'Dileherst' in Burnham is taken by the Victoria History as Tyler's Green covering Penn, which is not otherwise mentioned in Domesday; but Mr. Morley Davies tells me that Tyler's Green appears to be in the manor of Bassetbury in Wycombe, which was in the hundred of Desborough. Mr. Corbett places 'Dileherst' at Chippenham (in Burnham) which was granted in 1265 to Burnham Abbey 'with the meadow of Dillepol.'³ 'Hancedene'

¹ R. Hist. Soc. Trans. xiv. 218. He counts 2125½, but I have added 1½ to Pitston. He makes the corrected total only 2140.

² It would of course be arithmetically possible to divide an increase of say 20 hides between four vills only, laying 5 hides extra upon each

and leaving the rest of the hundred untouched; this might be done occasionally, but the readjustment of a whole county in this fashion seems out of the question.

³ Monasticon, vi 546.

in Desborough seems to be the same as 'Huchedene' or Hughenden. 'Edingeberge' in Rovelai is clearly the same as 'Ledingeberge' or Lenborough. 'Haseleie' is not identified, but seems to have been near Buckingham or Hillesden. 'Lesa' in Tichesele appears to be near Oakley; it may be Moorleys, but is taken by the Victoria History as Studley. 'Wadone' in Erlai seems to be near Pitston. It is possible that the 1 hide of 'Broch' which is entered after Medmenham in Desborough (150 b 2) should have been rubricated Coteslai, for a Broch held land at Grove near Mentmore; but it may well have been near Ipston in Desborough, for it would complete a 5-hide rating with the 4 of Ipston, 2 given under Bucks and 2 under Oxfordshire; the Testa names a de Brok in Oxfordshire (p. 100 a).

Mr. Ragg has noticed that there is no mention at all of 'wood,' i.e. of pannage for swine, in the whole Domesday hundred of Coteslai. There is not very much wood recorded in the hundred of Mursalai or of Sigelai and there are many good sized estates scattered through Bucks for which, though they presumably had waste in the shape of open commons, there is no record of pannage for swine; but it looks as if the absence of 'wood' in the whole of Coteslai was due to mistake in the original return and to a mistake which affected the hundred as a whole, not to omission of wood in several individual entries. It is therefore a little feature which ought to throw light on the way in which the returns were obtained and, as he points out, appears to indicate that the original return for each hundred was made up separately. We know that each hundred had a separate jury, and it has been suggested in the note to Surrey (p. 11), that these juries deliberated in the first instance apart. In that case each would naturally be furnished with an extract from the writ specifying the details which were to be included in the return. If in the copy given to the Coteslai jury the item '*quantum silva*,' perhaps represented by an abbreviation consisting of only the two letters "*q.s.*," was accidentally omitted before '*quantum prati*,' the absence of 'wood' in that hundred would be accounted for. The separate preparation of the original return for each hundred is confirmed by the fact that in Surrey and Berks some hundreds have cotters and others bordars.

Buckinghamshire like Middlesex and Herts, is one of the counties in which Domesday constantly gives the number of hides "in demesne." These hides 'in demesne' appear to be recorded in view of an exemption from geld like that enjoyed in 1084, as we know from the Geld Inquests, by the demesne land of a manor held 'in demesne,' that is a manor held by the tenant-in-chief himself, not held of him by an under-tenant. This seems to be proved by the character of the entries which contain this detail, for hides 'in demesne' are given on almost every estate of five hides or more held by a tenant-in-chief himself. A similar distribution of the hides 'in demesne' is found in Middlesex and Hertfordshire and the distribution is the same in Cambridgeshire.¹ Even in the smaller entries which have no under-tenants hides 'in demesne' are generally, though not always, given except in holdings of less than a hide; perhaps in some cases there may in fact have been an under-tenant though he is

¹ The I.C.C. (29-30, 54) shows that Horsei and Hatelai for which D.B. (193 b 2, 200 b 1) gives no sub-tenants, were held by 'the villeins.' Snelle-

welle 199 a-b, Coria 200 a 2 *bis*, 190 b 2, and Bertone 201 b 2 were probably treated as held of Ramsey, Ely and Judith.

not mentioned and the lands for which neither hides 'in demesne' nor under-tenants are given have been tabulated as (? demesne). On the other hand I have only found in Bucks four entries of land held by an under-tenant which record hides 'in demesne'; 'Mersa' and Ickford, both held by the monks of Grestein from the Count of Mortain; 'Berlave' and 'Hanchedene,' held by Tedald from the Bishop of Bayeux. All four appear to be exceptional. As to the two latter, the entry for Hanchedene¹ seems to throw some doubt on their exact position in 1086. As to Mersa and Ickford, from a confirmation by Richard I they appear to have been granted to the church of Grestein by the same charter as Harington and Clendon in Northamptonshire.² Now the monks are entered by Domesday in Northamptonshire as tenants-in-chief of Harington and Clendon; Mersa and Ickford in Bucks may therefore have also been treated as held by the monks in chief, though entered by Domesday as held by them [in alms] of the Count of Mortain. In Herts the only case of an undertenant with hides 'in demesne' is on the land held of the king in Hitchin by 'the minster,' and the only case in Middlesex is 8 hides at Laleham held of Robert Blount by a nun.³

To return to the manors 'in demesne,' in Middlesex, Herts and Bucks hides 'in demesne' are sometimes found and sometimes not found on the king's manors and on land held by 'king's thegns' or as 'king's alms.'⁴ Apart from these royal eccentricities the only considerable manors 'in demesne' which have no 'hides in demesne' are 'Toteham,' 'Totehele,' Harlesden and Stepney in Middlesex,⁵ and Padbury, Shalleston, Water Eaton, Turweston, Tickford and Newport in Bucks—in Herts I have found none. Of these the last three, Turweston in Stodfald, Tickford in Mulso and Newport in Sigelai, and also Tottenham, though they have no hides 'in demesne,' have 'carucates' in demesne "besides the hides." Each of these four manors is rated at a round 5 or 10 hides and the carucates in demesne cannot therefore represent former hides in demesne which had been part of the original assessment, but on which the geld had been remitted, for remission would have destroyed the roundness of the assessment. So also in Hunts we have carucates in demesne in addition to a round number of hides at Elton and Alwalton in Normancross hundred (204 b 1, 205 a 2) and at Ripton, Upwood, St. Ives, Warboys and Stukeley (7 + 3) in Hurstingstone (204 a).⁶ It would therefore appear that in these manors there had been a special arrangement by which the whole of the geld had been thrown on the villeins.⁶ The carucates in demesne seem to have been recorded in Domesday to show that, though the manor in which they occur was in the hands of the tenant in chief himself, the full geld was payable without any deduction for the demesne land such as we find allowed to tenants in chief in the

¹ "T. tenuit de episcopo, nunc est ad firmam regis." But "in Berlave ten [et?] T. de episcopo." 144 b 1.

² *Monasticon* vi. 1090. "Ex dono Matildis comitissæ Moreton. 32 hidas terræ quas dederat ei pater suus Rogerus de Monte Gomerio sc. apud Haxintonam 8 hid. et apud Mersam 11 hid. et apud Hiteford 6 hid. et apud Langebergam 2 hid. et apud Tavistone 3½ hid. et apud Clavendon 3 virg. per concessum regis Willielmi." The details make 31½ hides.

³ See pp. 92 Eb, 86 Z, 88 A, 90 D, E.

⁴ Martin who holds Woughton, may have been a servant of the king, though entered separately; 152 a 2.

⁵ The ratings at Somersham, Colne, Bluntisham and Holywell, though not round, make together a round 30 hides.

⁶ How this arrangement came to be extended to the whole hundred of Herstingstone in Hunts is not clear.

geld inquests of 1084. The only other case in the three counties of such nongelding carucates in demesne is at Hanslope in Bucks and that entry seems peculiar, if not doubtful.¹

It has already been said that the teams are carefully accounted for in Middlesex, Herts and Bucks. There are however in these counties a certain number of entries, all of them small estates, which run thus—"there is land for *a* teams, and they are there with *n* villeins—or *n* bordars, or *servi*—or *n* villeins and *m* bordars." In such a case as Torlei (134 a 1) where 1 team "is there with 2 *servi*," or Wicumbe (144 b 1) where 1 team "is there with 1 bordar," we may be sure that it was the lord's team. So also at Haseleie (151 b 2) where "1 team is there and $\frac{1}{2}$ team could be made; there is 1 cotter and 1 *servus*." But in the very next entry at Shenley we read "2 teams are there with 8 villeins and 2 *servi*;" here we may be sure that one of the teams belonged to the 8 villeins.² Again it is clear that the teams did not all belong to the demesne at Sutreshele in Herts (134 a 2) where $2\frac{1}{2}$ teams "were there with 3 villeins, 6 bordars and a frenchman" or at Odenholl (134 b 2) which has a similar description. At Hormead in the Bucks hundred of Moulsoe (now in Newport) the table shows a number of teams which were probably shared by the villeins, while at Cheddington in the hundred of Erlai (now in Cottesloe) we have several which no doubt belonged to the demesne. To apportion the teams of these ambiguous entries between 'demesne' and 'men' with certainty is impossible, while to tabulate all as 'demesne' or all as 'men's teams' would undoubtedly be wrong and would disturb the proportion between the latter and the former in the totals. The doubtful teams have been entered as 'demesne teams' where there are only bordars or only one villein, and as 'men's teams' where there are more than two villeins and sometimes when there are only two. This plan may or may not be approximately right, but it has been adopted because by distributing the doubtful teams between the two columns the proportion between 'demesne' and 'men's teams' in the total is not materially disturbed.

In Bucks the number of teamlands in each entry is generally about the same as the number of hides, but there are some striking exceptions. There are nearly a score of entries in which the hides are less than half of the teamlands, while in the hundred of Risborough there are nearly twice as many hides as teamlands.

The loss of value in a large number of estates immediately after the conquest is dealt with in the appendix. From all the king's larger manors the return in 1086 was much higher than it had been in 1065. Apart from these the chief cases in which the value in 1086 is very much above that in 1065 are Iver £12 and £22, Wycombe £12 and £26, Hambleden £16 and £35, and Marlow £10 and £25. The first two belonged to

¹ D.B. 152 a 2 "Hammescle pro 10 hid. se defend. Terra est 26 carucis: In dominio sunt 5 hidæ et præter has 5 carucatæ terræ, et ibi sunt 2 car. et adhuc 4 possunt fieri. Ibi 26 villani cum 11 bordarii habent 18 carucas et 2 possunt fieri." It looks as if in the MS. from which the compiler worked 'præter has (10 hidas) 5 carucatæ terræ' was written over the '5 hidæ' as a correction, and the scribe copied both into Domesday. The entry for Upeforde (204 b 2) "4 hidæ ad geldum; de his fuit 1 hida inland, et super hoc, erant 2 carucatæ in dominio,"

seems to mean that the geld on 1 hide was remitted and that on the other 3 hides was all paid by the villeins.

² Professor Vinogradof seems inclined to infer in all such cases that, as demesne is not mentioned, there was no land in demesne and quotes this very entry for Shenley (Eng. Society in 11th Cent. 396 n. 1.) But surely the 2 *servi* at Shenley are evidence of some land in demesne, and even when there are no *servi* the inference seems very dangerous.

Robert d'Oily, the two last to Queen Matilda; in all four cases the number of hides is very much below the number of teamlands, but that is also the case in other manors where there is no change of value. The value of Newport Pagnell in Sigelai is exceptional; it had only 9 teamlands, but is valued at £24 T.R.E. and £20 T.R.W.

One of the interesting features in the county is the large number of subdivided vills and comparatively small holdings before the conquest at the northern end of the county in the hundreds of Bonestou, Moulsoe and Sigelai, which now form the hundred of Newport. Some of these vills, Lavendon, Wavendon, Hardmead, Bradwell, Linford, remained much subdivided in 1086, but in others, Weston Underwood, Tythingam, Moulsoe, Stoke Hammond, the small holdings had been rolled together. We may notice that the (T.R.E.) undivided vills in Bonestou (except Olney), viz. Gayhurst, Ravenston, Hanslope, Haversham, are all on the western edge of the county, and those in Sigelai, viz. Calverton, Shenley, Newton Longueville, Water Eaton, are south of Watling Street, which crosses this end of the county from Fenny Stratford to Stony Stratford. Though there were in 1065 a good many small holdings in Bucks, not only in the northern hundreds, but also scattered through the rest of the county, very few socmen are mentioned. Most of the cases too in which they are given are not in the north, but in the south of the county in the Chiltern and Aylesbury hundreds. Yet the northern end of the county is wedged between Beds and Northants, in both of which socmen are common. In Beds they are plentiful right up to the border of Bucks, e.g. at Carlton, Stagsden, Woburn and Milton Bryant,¹ while in Northants there are thirty socmen on the lands held by or of Judith in connection with Yardley Hastings which adjoins the northern point of Bucks at Lavendon. But in spite of the many small holdings in this northern point of Bucks no socman is mentioned T.R.E. in the hundreds of Moulsoe and Sigelai, and only one in Bonestou at Olney. In these hundreds the small holders T.R.E., "men" of Borgret and other lords, are described as "thegns," though given in groups like socmen in Beds and Herts, where those described as "thegns" are generally much larger holders. This explains the absence of 'socmen' in northern Bucks, for the small holders of these northern hundreds would not be likely to have socmen under them. Indeed some are themselves more like socmen; two thegns at Tythingam in Bonestou held no more than a virgate apiece, and 4 (?2) at Woughton in Sigelai half a hide between them; but it seems likely from the figures that most of these thegns held at least half a hide and many of them as much as a hide. Whether the term 'thegn' is used in northern Bucks in a technical sense, implying a particular form of tenure, or only for a commended 'man' who was 'more free' than most of the 'socmen,' seems doubtful. But the name of 'socman' was not unknown in northern Bucks, for besides the one socman in Bonestou at Olney there were in Coteslai hundred 11 socmen with 5 hides at Soulbury and 4 socmen with $3\frac{1}{2}$ virgates at Hollington. Moreover 'thegns' and 'socmen' seem to be specially distinguished in the entry for Tickford in Moulsoe (149 a 1), where "5 socmen" T.R.W. paying 27s. replace "5 thegns" T.R.E., yet these thegns were so small as to hold only $3\frac{1}{2}$ virgates between them.

¹ See pp. 182, 185, 187, 189 below.

North Bucks would appear therefore to have been less manorialised than its neighbours, but the sudden change at the county border suggests that in Beds and Herts, where hardly any small thegns are mentioned, the term 'socman,' a very wide one in Domesday, may perhaps sometimes have covered holders T.R.E. who might have been called 'thegns;' the Norman compilers would not care much about the exact status of small freemen T.R.E. who had become or been succeeded by villeins. Other small thegns are probably represented in Beds and Herts among those entered simply by name as "A. the man of X."

Whatever may have been the exact position of these lesser thegns, there is no doubt as to the large number of comparatively small holdings along the Ouse and the Ousel. In the hundred of Moulsoe on the eastern side of this valley nearly all the vills consist mainly of such holdings, while in Bonestou and Sigelai more than half of the vills which lie close to the stream are of the same character. A little further south we have at Elstrop in Cotteslai 5 hides with 5 holders and at Cheddington cum Horton in Erlai 14 hides with 11 holders. There are a good many vills scattered through southern Bucks which contain small holdings, but they do not lie in large groups and their character is somewhat different, for in most of them the mass of the vill is in one hand. The special character of the hundred of Moulsoe is the more striking because many Bedfordshire vills which adjoin it on the east were undivided, though Bedfordshire is a county in which small holdings were very plentiful; the subdivided vills appear to run up the Ouse to Newport Pagnel and then up the Ousel. We shall have to return to the subject in the note to Bedfordshire (p. 174).

The Domesday hundreds of Buckinghamshire are interesting in several ways. The proportion of divided hundreds is large. In Risborough hundred Bledlow with 30 hides, forming nearly a third of the hundred, is separated from the rest by the long strip of Sanderton which was and is in Desborough hundred. Beachampton (10 hides) and Thornton (8 hides) are cut off from the rest of Rovelai hundred by the parish of Thornborough in Lamua which reaches right down to the Ouse. Tichsele hundred is in the same way cut into two parts by Haddenham (Nedreham) which belonged to either Stanes or Elesberie. Votesdone is divided into two nearly equal parts by the hundred of Essedene. Most curious of all Erlai hundred, which is to a great extent cut off from the rest of the county by the long strip of Herts running up to Tring and Tiscot, included beyond question the narrow parish of Drayton Beauchamp which lies on the west of that strip of Herts and touches through most of its length the hundred of Elesberie.¹ It is natural to suppose that Drayton Beauchamp may have originally belonged to Elesberie hundred; Sanderton, which has its village on the north-western side of the Chiltern ridge, to Risborough; and part of 'Nedreham' to Tichsele; while it may be that either Thornborough once belonged to Rovelai or to Thornton and Beachampton to Lamua or to Mursley. Nothing however appears in Domesday itself to suggest any reason for these changes except in the case of Haddenham, which is included with

¹ Drayton is now in Cottesloe, which includes Erlai; it is twice distinctly rubricated Erlai and there cannot be a mistake in the rubric for

Elesberie was 2nd and Erlai was 11th in the Domesday order.

Cuddington in the Archbishop's large manor of 'Nedreham' and may have been attached to Stanes for his convenience, his other lands at Halton and Risborough being in that group. Votesdone should perhaps, as Mr. Corbett suggests to me, have included Oving (145 a 2), the rubric having by mistake been put after the entry instead of before it. This would join the two halves of Votesdon.

The curious interlacing of boundaries along the Chiltern range is not really so eccentric as it looks on the map. All over England it is a common arrangement, when hills with inferior soil run along a stream or a plain, for the village to lie in the valley or the plain and the parish to run up the hill in a long strip; the hill end of the parish was the 'waste' or 'wood' of the village. When the Saxons arrived the Chiltern range was a large forest district and they planted their villages as usual along the foot of the hill. In the beginning every man along the borders of this forest took in it what he would, for there was enough for all. Later on, as the swine multiplied, different parts of the forest came to be held as the special 'woods' or 'denes' of different villages. Risborough runs up to Small Dean; Wendover to Lee (leigh); Ivinghoe and Pitston to Gaddesden(e) and Nettleden(e).¹ All the parishes are long and narrow. The boundaries of the different denes were settled locally between neighbouring villages for local reasons in a casual and irregular fashion, not on any general scheme. The arrangement of the hundreds, whenever and however they originated, was not a question of exact boundaries, but an arrangement of villages. No one gave a thought to the boundaries of the waste or woodland attached to them, even if such boundaries were at that time definitely fixed; the 'wood' simply did not count at all. In Erlai hundred Ivinghoe, Pitston and Marsworth lie on the north-western side of the Chilterns, but the 'wood' end of Ivinghoe runs south to Nettledene, forming a narrow strip which projects 4 or 5 miles into Hertfordshire. West of this strip we have a promontory of Herts running out into Bucks by Tring and Misswell to Tiscot. At this point the Chiltern range is pierced by a valley through which are now carried the canal and the North Western Railway, and up this valley the men of Hertfordshire might naturally press somewhat beyond their general boundary. The villages of Tring and Misswell are close to, but not beyond, a line drawn from Ivinghoe and Pitston to Drayton Beauchamp; Tiscot is at the end of a narrow strip of Herts which projects 4 miles into Bucks, but from its name it was no doubt originally a shieling in the 'wood' of Tring or Misswell. The strange hourglass shape of Stanes hundred is due to a similar cause; the southern end of it looks big on the map but was composed entirely of Hamden[e]ham and Missendene, which had only 15 hides between them. From their names they were no doubt originally 'denes of wood,' though in course of time men settled there. Great Missenden was a big dene and became a big village; if we may judge from its T.R.E. lord it probably once belonged to the large vill of Great Kimble and its connection with Kimble put it in Stanes, though with Hampden it is all but detached from the rest of that hundred.

Though the total for the county may be corrected as 2160 (18 × 120)

¹ Small Dean and Gaddesdene are just outside the borders of Risborough and Ivinghoe, but they show the character of the country. D.B.

30 b 1 says there had been taken from Ewell 2½ hides "et unam denam silvæ;" see also in Kent 2 b, 3 b, &c.

hides, it is difficult to suppose that the hundred hides of each nominal hundred was a 'long hundred' of 120 hides, for no less than seven of the eighteen hundreds had in 1086 only 100 or 105 hides and among them are Stodfald and Bonestou, both of which have a natural boundary in the Ouse.¹ It would be easy to find possible changes of hundred which would allow several of the six groups to have had originally 360 hides apiece, but it is difficult to find any reconstruction which would give that round assessment to all of them.

NOTE ON THE TERM 'MANOR'

Buckinghamshire is a county which ought to throw some light on the use in Domesday of the term manor, for the big *M* is scattered freely through the county both in the text and in the margin. But the light given is not at first very clear; Professor Maitland quotes one kind of entry and Mr Round quotes another kind of entry against him.² Certainly on reading the entries as they follow in the text the impression is one of confusion; the use of the *M* rubric seems a mystery and the terms 'manor' and 'land' appear to be used promiscuously; but it is impossible to believe that the *M* rubrics were originally inserted without any object or meaning whatever, and the tables by giving a bird's-eye view seem to introduce a certain amount of order into this confusion. Let us begin by getting rid of one element in the confusion. There are a good many cases in Bucks and elsewhere in which the same estate is spoken of first as 'manor' and then in one way or another as 'land'; but we must not take these variations of phrase too seriously. If a lawyer writes "Orley Farm is a copyhold... this land was bought in 1870," we do not infer that 'copyhold' has no special meaning or that he thinks that 'copyhold' and 'land' are convertible terms. Neither must we at once infer that 'manor' has no special meaning because of an estate which is called a manor at the head of its entry we are told later in the same entry 'this land is worth 40s,' or 'this land was part of the exchange for Bledon,' or 'of this land B. held one virgate,' or 'A held this land T.R.E.,' or if we read as on f 149 b 2 in Lamua "Ulf held this manor and of the same land A. held $\frac{1}{2}$ hide."

In Bucks the terms 'manor' and 'land' are not used in the T.R.E. part of the entries quite promiscuously. Whatever may be the reason, the larger estates are called 'manors,' the smaller ones 'land,' the dividing line being drawn at about 2 hides. Between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides is debatable ground; below $1\frac{1}{2}$ I notice only one 'manor,' at Lavendon (1 hide, 152 b 2); above $2\frac{1}{2}$ only two 'lands,' at Marlow and Berlave ($8\frac{9}{16}$ and $6\frac{3}{8}$ hides, 150 a 1, 151 a 1). I have only noticed three clear cases in which it is said of an estate described at the head of the entry as a manor that in 1065 'A held this land,' viz: $2\frac{3}{4}$ hides at Wavendon (150-1), $1\frac{1}{4}$ hide in Mulso hundred on f 151 a 2, and $\frac{1}{2}$ hide at Elmodesham, rubricated *M* on f 152 a 2.³ But in other counties we find entries of larger estates with this variation. We have good instances in Cambridgeshire, where

¹ Bonestou has one vill, Tyringham, east of the Ouse, but Bonestou and Moleslau together have only 215 hides.

² D.B. & B. 120-8; English Hist. Rev. (1900) xv. 293.

³ As to Hertfordshire see p. 95.

several manors rubricated *M* are described in the latter part of the entry as 'terra,' and in Bedfordshire the same variation is not uncommon.¹ It is clear that the word 'land' was not intended to exclude 'manor,' and in Cambridgeshire there is further evidence to show that in the *T.R.E. part of the entries*, apart from any occasional use of the phrase 'held for a manor,' the word 'manor' was not used with any special intention of marking a technical distinction and that no importance was attached to its being there used of every estate to which it might strictly belong; Mr. Round has pointed out a dozen cases in which the same estate is called 'manor' in the I.C.C., but 'land' in Domesday or vice versa.²

In Cambridgeshire it seems clear that in a great many cases the Domesday compiler neglected to mark the *M* rubric, but in Bucks the entries are a little more complicated; we find in this county:—

1. Some 120 estates (marked *M* in the tables) which are rubricated as 'manors.'

2. Some 25 other entries (marked [*M*] in the tables) to which we may at once presume, for reasons to be given later, that the *M* rubric ought to have been attached, though it has been accidentally omitted.

3. Some 80 estates (marked *M* in the tables) of which we are told at the head of the entry that "in Blackham A. holds (in 1086) *c* hides *pro uno Manerio*;" 15 of these entries being also rubricated *M*.

4. More than 150 estates, generally of not more than two hides, which are not marked as being manors in 1086 either by "*pro uno Manerio*" at the head of the entry or by rubric or obvious presumption of rubric. Of these 150 some 50, marked (*M*) in the tables, are spoken of as 'manors' in the latter part of the entry and the rest as 'land.'

We see also from the tables that the description as held in 1086 '*pro uno Manerio*' is not found at all in the first seven hundreds from Stanes to Tichsele, but only in the last eleven. It seems therefore pretty clear that this phrase was not due to the Domesday compiler, who worked by fiefs, but belonged to the return arranged by hundreds on which his work was based, and we may fairly presume that the *M* rubric belonged also to the same return. This seems to be confirmed by the occasional, but rare, appearance of both the *M* rubric and the phrase '*pro uno Manerio*' in Herts (p. 95), for if they were not in the return from which the compiler worked, it is difficult to see how they got into Domesday for that county at all.

The phrase '*pro uno Manerio*' is found only in divided villages. It is never used of any village which is all in one manor and with two exceptions, Shalleston in Stodfold and Simpson in Sigelay,³ every estate to which it is applied is described as "in —."

The *M* rubric is missing in a good many places where we should naturally expect to find it.

1. It is constantly, though not always, missing against the first or only entry of a fief, but these omissions will not trouble us, the rubric was apparently thought superfluous and we need not hesitate to supply it. Such entries have been marked by [*M*] in the tables.

2. It is altogether missing on f.145.a. and, except at the top of each

¹ Cumberton and Haslingford 189 b, Horningsey 191 a 1, Linton 194 a 1, Hildricsham 199 b 2; for Bedfordshire see p. 177 below.

² Eng. Hist. Rev. (1900) xv. 293.

³ Celdestane 5 hides 144 b 2; Sevinestone 8½ hides 145 a 2.

column, on f.144.b. This seems to be mere carelessness. The larger entries on these two pages have also been marked [*M*] in the tables.

3. It is missing, probably also by carelessness, against the 5 hides of Ditton in Stoke, the 5 hides of Creslow in (?)Cotslow, the 20 hides of Marsworth in Erlai, the 5 hides of Edgcott in (?)Lamua, the $5\frac{3}{4}$ hides of Oakley in Tichsele, the 6 hides of Shingleborough in Murslai, 6 hides at Hitcham in Burnham, and $14\frac{1}{4}$ hides "in Thornborough" in Lamua.

But assuming that all these omissions are accidental, the rubric is attached in fact or by presumption to nearly every undivided village of more than 3 hides. It is also attached to more than twenty estates, not described as held in 1086 '*pro uno Manerio*,' which did not cover a whole village. Most of these estates however cover the greater part of a village or at least much the largest holding in the village, many of them are given as '*Hartwell*' not '*in Hartwell*,' and most of their names, even when given as '*in*,' are in large letters like the undivided villages. It is not generally attached to the estates which are described as held in 1086 '*pro uno Manerio*,' but it is attached to 15 of them out of 80.

Amid these complications we have to find some theory which may at least serve for a working hypothesis. As the *M* rubrics must have been inserted with some definite intention, our theory may perhaps run as follows. The juries paid no particular heed to '*manors*' as such, but in the margin of the county return letters were afterwards added to mark the estates which were technically '*manors*,' whatever may have been the technical meaning given to that term. These rubrics were probably added by the commissioners' clerks on the evidence of the county officials, but possibly by treasury clerks at Winchester. The rubric used in the first seven hundreds of the return was always an *M*; in the other eleven hundreds the *M* was only used for manors which covered the whole of a vill or at least much the greatest part of one, manors in divided vills being generally rubricated '*p.i.M.*' meaning '*[A tenuit] pro uno Manerio*;' ¹ probably the rubrication was divided between two clerks, the first seven hundreds being done by one clerk and the rest of the county by another or two others. After a while came the compiling of Domesday Book, but the treasury no longer took any particular interest in the manorial rubric, for in some counties it is entirely and in Herts almost entirely omitted; this may have been connected with the decision to re-arrange the entries according to fiefs; possibly this decision marked some change in the system of collecting the geld. No importance was therefore laid on the rubric in the instructions given to the compiler of this county. He set out to copy the *M* as a rubric, but the '*p.i.M.*' he treated as a note to '*tenuit*,' with which it was by grammar connected, and incorporated it in the text. Occasionally he put an *M* in the margin as well; this might easily happen, as he was working to and fro between hundreds rubricated on different systems. If, as is not unlikely, the compiler dictated the entries to another clerk, it would be very easy for him to dictate "*Manor*—*A. held Blackham for a manor etc.*," meaning the phrase "*for a manor*" to cancel the "*manor*" with which he began.

On the other hand, taking no interest in the manorial rubrics the compiler often overlooked them. We have already assumed that he did so

¹ For the abbreviation see Lolesworde 201 a 2.

in certain cases, but besides these there are some 50 entries in which an estate, generally small, is not rubricated or 'held for a manor' in 1086 at the head of the entry, though called a 'manor' in the latter part of it. The attention of the compiler was fully occupied with abbreviating and condensing the return from which he worked and he might easily overlook—even very often—letters in the margin which had no special importance. It is clear that the Domesday compilers did find a difficulty in attending to rubrics, for the hundred rubrics were often omitted both in Bucks and other counties and the numbering of the fiefs is sometimes irregular. Some of these 50 cases therefore were very likely due to oversight, but probably not all of them. The Cambridgeshire evidence suggests, not only that no importance was attached by the juries to the term 'manor' being used of every manor to which it rightly belonged, but that in the *T.R.E.* part of the entries, apart from any occasional use of the phrase 'held for a manor,' the word 'manor' was used, not with any definite or very positive import, but vaguely for a property of a certain size, much as we should use 'estate.' In common language a field of one acre or 10 acres is not called an 'estate,' but we say that the owner of 100 or 200 acres 'has a small estate' or 'has a little land' as fancy moves us. It is very doubtful if the Bucks juries meant anything definite when they said of one or two teamlands 'A. held this manor T.R.E.' On the other hand it seems impossible to doubt that the man who added the manorial rubrics intended them to bear some definite or technical meaning; the double use of the term 'manor' would not be unlike the double use of the '*carucata ad geldum*' and the '*terra carucæ*.' It may well be that in some of the 50 cases the estate, though spoken of as a manor by the jury, was not a 'manor' in the technical sense and that therefore the rubric '*p.i.M.*' was purposely and rightly not attached to the entry. At all events the theory that has been suggested is offered not as a thing proved or nearly proved, but only as an attempt to arrive at some kind of working hypothesis.

SUMMARY OF THE HUNDREDS.

HUNDREDS	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE		TEAMS		MEN		
			1065	1086	dem	men	vill	bord	serv
A Burneham	104 $\frac{1}{4}$	153	103	86	30	110	170	66	41 A
B Stoches	113 $\frac{1}{2}$	119	89	93	18	88	148	59	27 B
C Dustenberg	148 $\frac{1}{2}$	208	127	182	42	164	290	106	58 C
D Elesberie	147 $\frac{3}{4}$	152	158	190	35	101	174	77	40 D
E Riseberg	99 $\frac{1}{4}$	62	52	88	12	49	101	27	17 E
F Stanes	135	120	118	111	36	62	163	90	63 F
G Essedene	112 $\frac{1}{4}$	113	94	84	43	63	163	65	40 G
H Tichesele	122 $\frac{3}{4}$	137	118	144	44	88	182	77	58 H
I Votesdone	99 $\frac{3}{4}$	101	84	84	34	63	138	53	34 I
K Lamua	127	124	87	83	31	82	163	60	51 K
L Rovelai	101	93	78	88	34	43	80	92	46 L
M Stodfald	101	120	70	60	36	47	90	67	41 M
N Coteslai	142 $\frac{1}{2}$	197	162	142	58	102	228	86	56 N
O Erlai	120	82	85	81	28	48	126	28	47 O
P Mursalai	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	117	76	68	33	64	110	70	40 P
Q Bonestou	98 $\frac{1}{3}$	115	111	96	38	64	160	100	53 Q
R Moleslau	114 $\frac{1}{2}$	121	112	87	38	74	187	127	51 R
S Sigelai	138 $\frac{1}{2}$	159	157	142	53	90	225	72	92 S
	2127	2293	1881	1909	644	1402	2900	1322	855
Other counts ^a	2074	2244	1785	1813	1952		2893	1326	833

Maitland, *D.B. and B.* 401, Pearson, and Ellis, *General Introduction to D.B.* ii. 425. Mr. Corbett counted 2125 $\frac{1}{3}$ hides, but I have added 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides to Erlai, where there is a doubtful entry.

For a diagram of the hundreds see p.128.

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
x Bp of Lincoln ...	Walter	x Levric man of Earl Harold x
A Mano Breton ...	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>)...	A Tovi a King's thegn A Alward his man $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>hid.</i> S
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Roger	b Earl Lewin b
B do. ...	Bp of Lisieux ...	B Earl Lewin B
C do. ...	Roger	C Asgot man of Earl Harold... C a man of Stigand 1 <i>hid.</i> S
D Miles Crispin ...	Ralf and Roger ...	D Haming a King's thegn S ... D
E Ab. Westminster...	Demesne (4 <i>hid.</i>)...	E { 3 thegns, viz : Ulvric $3\frac{3}{4}$ <i>hid.</i> ; a man of Edric Merlave $3\frac{1}{4}$ h. ; a man of Seulf 1 <i>hide</i> ⁿ E
b Walter f. Other ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	b Elmar a King's thegn... .. b
F do. ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	F Queen Edith F
G Gilo bro. Ansculf...	Girard	G Siward man of Earl Harold S G
b Reinbald, priest of	Cookham	b the same Reinbald as K's alms b
H Miles Crispin ...	Ralf	H Aldred man of E. Morcar S H
I G. d. Mandeville...	Demesne (2 <i>hid.</i>)...	I Queen Edith I
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Roger	b Alwin man of Q. Edith S ... b
c C. of Mortain ...	Alman	c Siward man of Aldeva S ... c
d Gozelin Breton ...	(? Demesne)	d Alvríc man of Godric sheriff S d
e Turstin Mantel ...	(? Demesne)	e Turchil a King's thegn S ... e
f Hugh d. Bolbec ...	Ulviet	f Ulviet man of Bp Wlwi S ... f
K do. ...	Demesne ($1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>hid.</i>)	K Brictric m. of Q.; 2 ⁿ m. of Br. 4h. K
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>)...	b 2 socm. m. of Lewin & Harold S b
c do. ...	Roger	c [the above 2 socmen ?] ... c
d Alsí	Demesne ($1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>hid.</i>)	d Q. Edith, who gave it to Alsí ⁿ d
e Turstin Mantel ...	(? Demesne)	e Epy man of Brictric e

DUSTENBERG (THE CHILTERN HUND. OF DESBOROUGH)

W Bp of Lincoln ...	Walter	W Levric man of Harold S ... W
X do. ...	Walter	X Earl Harold... .. X
Y Rob. d'Oily of his	wife's fee (4 <i>hid.</i>)	Y Brictric 'de' Queen Edith... Y
b Bp of Winchester	de vict. mon. (5 <i>hid.</i>)	b Stigand, de victu monachorum b
c C. of Mortain ...	William	c a socman m. of Abp Stigand L c
d Bp of Bayeux ...	Roger	d a man of Abp Stigand L ... d

Eels from fisheries ; **C.** 1000 ; **D.** 500 ; **F.** 1000 ; **H.** 500 ; **W.** 300 ; **Yb.** 1000.
A. Two of the mills pay nothing ; the third **E.** Valet roos 28d ; the 3 thegns ' could sell,
pays 5 ores.
Ab. A hawk's eyrey.
H. Pratum 3 carucis et equis. **Eb.** Silva 600 porc. et ferrum carucis.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS dem men	MEN							
						1065	Q.R.	1086		vill	bor	serv					
...	...	...	x in this hund.	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	...	...	...	x
³ ...	ⁿ 600	1	A Chalfont (M) in Chefunte	...	...	$4\frac{3}{4}$	15	$6\frac{1}{2}$	5	$6\frac{1}{2}$	3	12	13	8	4	A
6	600 ⁿ	2	b in Chefunde ⁿ M	$9\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{3}{4}$	15	$5\frac{1}{2}$	3	$5\frac{1}{2}$	1	14	14	4	2	b		
3	300	2	B Dileherste M v.p. 132	10	10	10	6	2	6	2 ¹	6 ¹	14	1	1	B		
...	700	1	C Taplow ⁿ M Thapeslau	...	...	$8\frac{1}{4}$	16	9	3	8	1	15	18	4	2	C
...	100	6	D Hitcham ⁿ (M) Huchcham	$14\frac{1}{4}$	6	6	5	1	4	2	4	8	...	3	D
...	100	6	E East Burnham ⁿ M in Esburncham	...	...	8	6	6	$5\frac{1}{9}$ ⁿ	$5\frac{1}{9}$	1	5	6	1	...	E
...	600 ⁿ	3	b Burnham M Burncham	26	18	15	10	6	10	3	12	28	7	2	b
² 20	200	2	F Eton ⁿ M v. p. 130 Ellone	...	...	12	8	6	5	6	2	6	15	4	4	F
...	60	2	G Boveney (M)	...	...	3	$2\frac{1}{2}$	3	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$ ²	...	...	...	...	G
...	...	1	b in Bovenie	...	...	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	1	...	...	b
...	150	3 ⁿ	H Dorney ⁿ M Dornei	19	3	3	3	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	5	4	2	H
...	400	16	I Amersham M	...	...	$7\frac{1}{2}$	16	16	9	9	3	9 ⁴	14	4	7	I
4	...	1	b in Elmodesham	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	3	...	b
...	20	2	c in do.	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	1	1	2	...	1	1	...	c
4	...	...	d in do. M	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	1	1	1	...	...	5	...	d
...	30	2	e in do.	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	...	1	2	1	...	e
5	20	1	f in do.	...	...	10	1	1	1	1	...	2	2	3	...	f
10	800 ⁿ	16	K in Chesham (M)	...	...	$8\frac{1}{2}$	16	12	...	10 ⁿ	2	12 ²	16	6	6	K
² 3	...	3	b in Cestreham	...	...	$11\frac{1}{2}$	3	3	3	3	1	2	2	3	2	b
...	50	...	c in do.	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	...	c
6 ² ₃	800	2	d in do. ⁿ M	...	...	4	9	5	4	4	2	7	10	5	6	d
...	...	...	e in do.	...	...	15	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	...	...	...	e
				104 $\frac{1}{4}$	153	103				86	30	110	170	66	41		

DUSTENBERG (THE CHILTERN HUND. OF DESBOROUGH)

³ 14	...	...	W Lude ⁿ (M) in Lede	...	...	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	1	1	W
⁸ 104	200 ⁿ	6 ⁿ	X Woburn M Waborne	...	...	$8\frac{1}{2}$	9	12	5	15	2	10	12	13	1	X
⁶ 75	500	30 ⁿ	Y Wycombe ⁿ M	...	...	10	30	12	10	26	3	27	40 ⁿ	8	8	Y
³ 20	1000	7	b Wicumbe ⁿ M	...	...	19	23	12	10	15	3	19	27	8	7	b
...	...	...	c in do.	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1	...	c
...	...	...	d in do.	...	...	30	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	1	...	d

K. Silva 800 porc. et ferrum carucis; Brictric's 2 men were 'socmen.'
Kd. 'Queen Edith gave this manor to Alsì after King William's coming.'
X. Pratum 6 car. et ad equos; silva de 200 porcis et 7s 4d.
Y. Pratum 3 car. et ad equos curiæ et car. vill(an)is.—4 buri.

BURNHAM			DESBOROUGH		
	K		I		
	I		F	E	
	A			Y	
C		OL	K	G	WX
D	H			M	
E	G	F			

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
E Bp. of Bayeux ...	William f. Oger ...	E Queen Edith E
b do. <i>ad firmam regis</i> ... ($\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	tenuit }	b Fridebert m. of Lewin $2\frac{1}{2}$ hid. b
<i>see p. 134.</i> Tøetald		Alric Gangere and sister $\frac{1}{2}$ h.
F Suarting and Hard-	ing, King's thegns...	F Two brothers men of King S F
G Queen Matilda ...	Demesne (5 hid.)...	G Earl Algar G
H do.	do. (5 hid.)...	H Earl Algar H
b Miles Crispin ...	Ralf and Roger ...	b Haming a King's thegn S ... b
c Walt. d. Vernon ...	Demesne ($3\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	c Godric man of Asgar S ... c
d Bp. of Bayeux ...	? Tedald ($1\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	d Queen Edith (see p. 134) ... d
I do.	Robert	I a man of Earl Lewin S ... I
b Miles Crispin ...	Osbert	b Alric man of Earl Harold S b
K Walt. Gifford ...	Herbrand	K Earl Tosti K
L Nig. d. Albini ...	Roger	L Turbert man of Earl Algar L
M Hugh d. Bolbec ...	Demesne (4 hid.)...	M Ulstan a King's thegn S ... M
N do.	(? Demesne)	N Odo man of Brictric S ... N
O Hervey legate ...	Demesne ($\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)...	O Tovi a King's thegn S ... O
P Miles Crispin ...	Two men	P Ulric and Coleman men of Brictric S P

STOCHES (THE CHILTERN HUNDRED OF STOKE)

A The King	Demesne ($2\frac{1}{2}$ hid.)	A Earl Harold... .. A
B Rob. d'Oily of his wife's fee ⁿ (2 hid.)		B Tochi a K's thegn ; a socm. L B
C Ab. Westminster ...	Dem. (3 hid.) given	C 2 socmen men of others S C
D Will. f. Ansculf ...	Walter	C by Ulstan a thegn of St. Peter's.
D Will. f. Ansculf ...	Walter	D Sired man of Earl Harold S D
E do.	do.	E Sired man of Earl Harold S E
F Robert Gernon ...	Demesne (5 hid.)...	a socman m. of Tubi 1 hid. S F
G Walter f. Other ...	Demesne (2 hid.)...	F Edmund a King's thegn ... F
H Bertram d. Verdun	Demesne (5 hid.)...	G Eldred man of Abp Stigand S G
I Gilo bro. Ansculf...	Demesne (5 hid.)...	H Countess Goda H
		I Two brothers, Seulf m. of Lewin I
		$6\frac{3}{4}$ h., Siward m. of Harold $6\frac{3}{4}$ S

Eels or rent from fisheries

DESBOROUGH. **H.** 1000 ; **Hd.** 500 ; **M.** 1000.STOKE. **A.** 1000 ; **B** (four) 1500 ; **C** (three) 3s ;**F** (four) 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ s ; **I** (two) 2000.

STOKE

A. Return in all 21l white silver ; T.R.E. 15l. by tale.**F.** Fœnum ad animalia curiæ.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUES			TEAMS		MEN		
						1065	Q.R.	1086	demmen		vill	bor	serv
...	600	2	E Hughenden <i>M</i> ... <i>Huchedene</i>	10	10	7	6	10	2	8	15	3	5 E
...	...	...	b ? Hanechedene (<i>M</i>) ...	3	7	4	5	5	2	5	6	3	5 b
...	...	...	F Bradenham ... <i>Bradeham</i>	15	2	2	1	1	2	...	2	...	...
20	700	8	G Hambleden ⁿ <i>M</i> ... <i>Hanbledene</i>	20	20	30	16	15	35	3	27	50	9 9 G
20	1000	26	H Marlow ⁿ <i>M</i> ...	15	26	10	10	25	2	24	35	23	1 H
...	200	6	b in <i>Berlave</i> ...	8 $\frac{5}{8}$	6	4	3	3	2	4	14	6	2 b
...	...	2	c <i>Berlave v.p.130</i> ...	6 $\frac{3}{8}$	6	4	5	5	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	6	1 c
20	50	2	d in <i>Berlave</i> ⁿ [<i>M</i> ?]	35	5	4	4	4	7	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	4 1 d
¹ ...	50	1	I Sanderton [<i>M</i>] ... <i>Sandesdone</i>	5	5	6	5	5	2	3	13	3	2 I
² 8	50	1	b in <i>Sandesdone</i> (<i>M</i>) ...	5	5	6	5	5	2	3	13	5	2 b
...	100	2	K Fawley <i>M</i> ... <i>Falelie</i>	10	14	6	5	6	2	12	13	1	5 K
...	20	...	L Turfield <i>M</i> ... <i>Tilleberie</i>	5	11	7	5	7	3	7 ¹	13	1	...
...	50	10	M Medenham ⁿ <i>M</i> ... <i>Medeham</i>	10	10	8	5	5	2	8	10	8	4 M
...	...	...	N 'Broch' <i>v.p.133</i> ...	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	1	2	...
...	100	...	O Ibston <i>v.p.133</i> ... <i>in Hibestanes</i>	2	5	5	4	4	2	2 ¹	7	...	4 O
...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	P Aston Sandford... <i>in Estone v.p.131</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	...	...
				148 $\frac{1}{2}$	207	128		182	42	164	289	106	58

STOCHES (THE CHILTERN HUNDRED OF STOKE)

4	200	2	A Upton ⁿ <i>M v.p.131</i> ^a ... <i>Opctone</i>	18	10	15	...	21	2	15 ⁿ	19	5	2 A
³ 44	800	30	B Iver ⁿ <i>M v.p.131</i> ⁿ ... <i>Evreham</i>	17	30	12	5	22	4	26	32	6	4 B
² 7	300	12	C Denham ⁿ <i>M</i> ... <i>Daneham</i>	10	12	10	7	7	2	7 ³	15	3	...
...	16	3	D Ditton (<i>M</i>)... <i>Ditone M</i>	5	3	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	4	...	1 D
4	500	...	E Stoke Pogis <i>M</i> ... <i>Stoches</i>	10	10	6	3	5	2	6 ²	10	3	4 E
² 40	500	5 ⁿ	F Wirardisbury ⁿ <i>M</i> ... <i>Wirecesberie</i>	20	25	22	20	20	2	15 ⁸	32	18	7 F
20	...	3	G Horton [<i>M</i>] ... <i>Hortune</i>	10	9	6	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	2	6 ¹	15	5	4 G
...	600	2	H Farnham <i>M v.p.130</i> ... <i>Ferneham</i>	10	8	4	4	5	2	4 ²	5	3	2 H
...	300	5	I Datchet ⁿ [<i>M</i>] ... <i>Daceta</i>	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	12	6	6	1 ⁴	7	16	16	3 I
				113 $\frac{1}{2}$	119	89		93	18	88	148	59	27

B. Friday fish for *praepositus villæ*;
2 arpents vines; received in
exchange for Pateberie.

HE	C	A	D	G
A	B	I		
D	G		F	

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A The King	Dem. 2 socm. 1½ hid.	A the socmen's 1½ h. not in manor A
b Three men from	the King 153. a. 2	b the same 3 men, not in manor b
c Lewin [? Chava]	of the King	c the same Lewin, not in manor c
B The King	Dem. a socm. ¼ hid.	B 1 socm. ¼ h. S, 'tam. servit vicecom'
C Bp of Bayeux	Roger	C 2 socm. m. Al. Vari & E. Lewin S C
D Abp Canterbury	Demesne (2½ hid.)	D Earl Lewin D
E Bp of Lincoln	Walter	E Godric bro. of Bp Wlwi L... E
F do.	Ch. Aylesbury ⁿ (3 h.)	F Bp Wlwi 'with the church' ⁿ F
G Bp of Bayeux	Roger	G Suen man of Alwin Vari S... G
H do.	Roger 19 hid. ... Bp of Lisieux 1 hid.	H E. Lewin 9½ h.; Godric (sher.) 3½ h; 5 men of Lewin, Godric, Tosti 7h. S
I Will. d. Warren	Demesne (2 hid.) ...	I Edward a King's thegn S ... I
K Will. f. Ansculf	Ralf	K Earl Harold... .. K
b do.	Osbert	b Baldwin m. of Abp Stigand S b
c Mano Breton	Demesne (5 hid.) ...	c Levenot man of the King ... c
L Ed. d. Salisbury	Demesne (9¼ hid.)	L Ulwen 'man' of the King S L

RISEBERGE (RISBOROUGH)

W The King	Demesne (20 hid.) a socman ¾ hid.	W Harold; the same socman ¾ h. W he could sell but 'vicecom. servivit'
X Abp Canterbury	Demesne (16 hid.)	X Asgar de the Ch. of Cant. L X
Y C. of Mortain	Demesne (16 hid.)	Y Edmer Atule a K's thegn S Y { 2 socmen m. of Harold 2 hid. S }
Z do.	Ralf	Z { a socman m. of Ingold 4¾ hid. S } Z
b Bp of Bayeux	Roger	b a man of Earl Lewin S ... b
c do.	Robert	c Godwin man of E. Lewin S c
d Harding a King's	thegn	d Ulnured S d

A. T.R.E. 25*l.* by tale; T.R.W. in all 38*l.*
burnt and weighed.

A and **B.** From the rest of the meadow 20*s.*

Ac. Silva 30 porc. et 10*s.*

D. Silva 100 porc. et 2*s.*

F. In 8 hundreds 'in circuitu Elesberie
each socman with 1 hide payed to the
church '1 summa annonæ' and T.R.E.
also '1 acram annonæ' or 4*d.*

H. Pratum 10 car. et 6*s.*

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
² 10	2000	3 ⁿ	A Wendover <i>M</i>	24	26	25	—	38 ⁿ	3	17 ⁶	26	6	... A
...	...	...	b in <i>Wendovre</i>	1	1	2	1	1	1	...	...	1	... b
...	30 ⁿ	...	c in <i>Wandene</i> added to <i>Wandovre</i> ...	25 ¹ ₂	¹ ₂	1	¹ ₂	¹ ₂	¹ ₂	¹ ₂	...	1	... c
² 23	...	8 ⁿ	B Aylesbury <i>M</i> <i>Elesberia</i>	16	16	25	—	56 ⁿ	2	10 ⁴	20	14	2 B
...	...	...	C Bierton ? <i>v.p.130</i> in <i>Bortone</i>	1 ³ ₄	1 ¹ ₂	2 ¹ ₂	1	1	1 ¹ ₂	...	...	3	... C
15	100 ⁿ	2	D Halton <i>M v.p.130</i> <i>Hallone</i>	5	7	8	8	8	2	5	10	15	... D
...	300	2	E Buckland <i>M</i> <i>Bocheland</i>	10	8	10	3	8	2	6	14	6	... E
10	30	3	F Stoke Mandeville <i>M</i> <i>Stoches</i>	8	21	18	12	20	6	15	20	4	3 F
...	...	1	G Bedgrove <i>M</i> <i>Begrave</i>	10	2	3	2	¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂	1	2	5	5 ... G
⁴ 33 ¹ ₈	100	10 ⁿ	H Weston Turville <i>M</i> <i>Weslone</i>	20	17	15	8	15	3 ²	12 ¹	12	...	12 H
10	100	5	I Broughton [<i>M</i>] <i>Brotone</i>	10	8	10	8	8	2	6	13	5	4 I
...	105	2	K in <i>Ellesborough^a M</i> b in <i>Esenberge</i>	13 ¹ ₂	11	9	8	8	2	9	17	3	2 K
...	...	...	...	11 ¹ ₂	2	1	¹ ₄	¹ ₄	¹ ₄	...	1	...	... b
...	100	3	c in <i>Esenburga M</i>	29 ¹ ₂	14 ¹ ₂	11	10	4	6	3	8	8	10 4 c
— ⁿ	300 ⁿ	17	L Aston Clinton ⁿ <i>M</i> <i>Estone</i>	20	17	20	10	18	6	11 ¹	28	4	13 L
				147 ³ ₄	152	158		190	35	101	174	77	40

RISEBERGE (RISBOROUGH PART OF AYLESBURY)

² 14 ² ₃	1000	7	W Risborough ⁿ <i>M</i> <i>Riseberge</i>	30	24	10 ⁿ	—	47 ⁿ	4	20	30	12	3 W
...	300	6	X do. ⁿ <i>M</i>	30	14	16	5	16	2	12	32	8	4 X
— ⁿ	1000	18	Y Bledlow <i>M v.p.137</i> <i>Bledlai</i>	30	18	20	12	22	4	14	32	3	8 Y
¹ 0	...	1	Z in <i>Horsenden (M)</i>	6 ⁹ ₄	4	5	2 ¹ ₂	2 ¹ ₂	1	3	7	1	2 Z
...	...	...	b in <i>Horsedene</i>	¹ ₂	¹ ₂	¹ ₄	⁸ ₂₀	⁸ ₂₀	¹ ₂	...	...	1	... b
...	...	...	c do.	¹ ₂	¹ ₂	¹ ₄	² ₂₀	² ₂₀	0	0	...	...	... c
...	...	...	d in <i>Horsedunc</i>	9 ¹ ₄	1 ¹ ₂	1	¹ ₂	¹ ₂	1	...	...	2	... d
				99 ¹ ₄	62	52		88	12	49	101	27	17

K. Taken by Ansculf de Pincheni from Ralf Tailgebosc in exchange for half of Risborough.
L. Mill of 5 ores of silver; iron for the lord's ploughs.

C
B I E
G
F H D L
K A

RISBOROUGH

W. Return 47*l.* less 16*d.* white silver, T.R.E. 10*l.* (*sic*) by tale. A burghess in Oxford paying 2*s.*
X. Could not be separated from the Church.
Y. Mill paid 24 seams of malt; de redditis silvæ ferra carrucis.

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Abp Canterbury ...	Demesne (<i>18 hid.</i>) <i>Gilbert priest 3 hid.</i>	A Earl Tosti A
B Bp of Bayeux ...	Helto	B Avelin a King's thegn... .. B
C do. ...	Helto	C 2 brothers m. of Ulf & Eddeva S C
b Rob. d. Todení ...	Gilbert ; <i>a socman</i> ^a	b Ulf a King's housecarl ... b
c Will. f. Ansculf ...	An englishman ...	c Lewin brother of Alsi S ... c
d W. f. Constantine	Suetin	d Ulvic man of Abp Stigand S d
D Miles Crispin ...	Alric	D 'the same thegn' (Alric) ... D
b Will. Pevrel... ..	Robert	b Alwin man of Queen Edith S b
E do.	Tehel	E Alwin a King's thegn S ... E
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Helto	b { 3 socm. men of Lewin (2 hid.) } { Avelin ($\frac{1}{2}$ h.), Stigand ($\frac{1}{2}$ h.) S } b
c do. ...	Robert	c Avelin a King's thegn S ... c
d Walt. Giffard ...	Hugh d. Molbec ...	d 2 men of Sired S ('still hold it') d
e Will. chamberlain	Robert	e Ulmar a priest S e
f Walt. d. Vernon ...	(? Demesne)	f Turgot a King's thegn S ... f
F Turstin f. Rolf ...	Albert	F Brictric a King's thegn ... F
b Walt. Giffard ...	Hugh	b Sired a King's thegn S ... b
G do. ...	Turstin f. Rolf ...	G Sired son of Alveva S... .. G
b C. of Mortain ...	Wigot	b Alwin m. of Syred f. Sybi ... b
c Hugh d. Bolbec ...	Ulviet	c same Ulviet m. of Bp Wlwi S c
d Turstin Mantel ...	(? Demesne)	d Seric man of Sired S d
H Will. f. Ansculf ...	Osbert	H Baldwin m. of Abp Stigand S H

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
² 20	...	6 ⁿ	A Haddenham ⁿ <i>M Nedreham</i> ...	40	30	40	20	40	6	14 ¹⁰	40	16	15 A
4	...	13	B Dinton <i>M Danitone</i> ...	15	13	15	15	15	3	10	35	7	8 B
...	...	7	C in Stone <i>M</i> ...	7	7	6	5	5	3	1 ²	1	15	7 C
...	...	...	b in Stanes [<i>M</i>] ...	7	6	5	5	5	2	4	7	11	4 b
...	...	...	c in this hund. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	...	c
...	...	...	d in Sudcote ...	14 $\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$ ⁿ	$\frac{6}{20}$	$\frac{6}{20}$	$\frac{6}{20}$	...	...	...	...	d
...	...	...	D Upton (<i>Optone</i>) ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	1	1	...	1	2	2 D
...	...	5	b in Uptone (<i>M</i>) ...	5	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	3	3	2	3	8	3	3 b
...	...	8	E Hartwell <i>M</i> ...	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	8	7	5	5	3	5	16	4	4 E
8	...	...	b in Herdewelle ...	3	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	...	1	7	... b
...	...	...	c in do. ...	1	2	2	1	1	1 ¹	...	1	...	4 c
...	...	...	d in do. ...	2	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	4	3	4 d
...	...	...	e in do. ...	2	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	2	4	... e
...	...	...	f in do. ...	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	...	...	... f
16	...	10	F Lit. Kemble [<i>M</i>] <i>Pa. Chenebelle</i> ...	10	10	6	5	5	2 ²	3 ³	10	1	2 F
...	f	11	b Grt. Kemble <i>M Chenebella</i> ...	30	20	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	10	2 ¹	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	22	8	6 b
...	500 ⁿ	2	G Missenden <i>M</i> ...	10	8	7	4	4	2 ₁	6	9	1	2 G
...	100	1	b in Missedene ...	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	5	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	4	... b
...	30	1	c in do. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	1	... c
...	30	2	d in do. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	1	2	1	... d
...	500 ⁿ	...	H Hampden <i>M Hamdenham</i> <i>v.pp.131, 137.</i> ...	15	3	5	5	4	2	3	4	...	2 H
				135	120	118		111	36	62	163	89	63

A. Pasture for teams and hay for 8 days ; a priest held the church ' with tithes. '

Cb. The socman paid 15s. (T.R.W.)

G. From wood 4 ores. **H.** Ferrum 2 carucis.

B D C E

A

F

H G

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065	
A Bp of Coutances...	Two knights...	A Edwin a King's thegn S	A
B Hascoit Musard ...	Eudo ...	B Azor f. Toti K's housecarl S	B
b Miles Crispin ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>) ...	b Wigot de Wallingford	b
C Canons of Oxford	Demesne (1½ <i>hid.</i>)	C The Church of Oxford	C
b Walt. Giffard ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	b Eddeva of Queen Edith	b
D Bp of Coutances...	Demesne (4 <i>hid.</i>)...	D Eddeva of Queen Edith S...	D
b Will. f. Manne ...	Demesne (1¼ <i>hid.</i>)	b Alvrice the chamberlain S	b
E Hen. d. Ferrers ...	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>)...	E Boding the constable ...	E
F Will. Pevrel...	Pagan ...	F Alwin a King's thegn S	F
G do.	(? Demesne) ...	G Alwin a King's thegn ...	G
b Hen. d. Ferrers ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	b Boding the constable ...	b
c Alsi ⁿ King's thegn	Demesne ...	c [? Ulward man of Q. Edith]	c
H do. ⁿ	Demesne (2 <i>hid.</i>)...	H Ulward man of Queen Edith	H
b Miles Crispin ...	Two 'men' ...	b 2 thegns men of Brictric S...	b
I do. contd.	Richard ...	I Alden man of Earl Harold S	I
b Walt. Giffard ...	Ernulf & Goisfrid	b Six thegns S...	b
K do.	Two knights...	K Alr. f. Goding 5 h.; 3 bros 5 h. S	K
L do.	Ralf ...	L Eddeva wife of Ulward S	L
M do.	Richard ...	M 3 brothers S...	M
b Miles Crispin ...	Wichin ...	b the same Wichin	b
N do.	Two 'men' ...	N same, m. of Brictric & Azor S	N
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Two englishmen ...	b same, m. of Brictric & Azor S	b

TICHES(H)ELLE (? IXHILL)

A The King ...	Demesne ...	A Earl Harold. .	A
B Bp of Coutances ...	Robert ...	B Eddeva wife of Alward	B
		<i>sub</i> Queen Edith S	
C G. d. Mandeville...	Suerting ...	C Dodinz man of Asgar S	C
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Helto ...	b 2 socm. men of Avelin and	b
		Alveva sister of E. Harold S	
D do.	Robert ...	D Godwin man of Earl Lewin S	D
E do.	Robert ...	E Avelin a King's thegn...	E
b Mano Breton ...	Odo ...	b Sotinz man of Earl Tosti S	b

ESSEDENE

Cb. Mill of 20s. and 80 eels.
Gc. Alsi took it with his wife.
H. Queen Edith gave it to Alsi
 with the daughter of Ulward.

Waddesdon
 E G B A
 D F
 L M *Waddesdon*
 K C N
 I

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
						1065	Q. R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
...	200	4	A Ovinge [<i>M</i>] ... <i>Olvonge v.p.138</i> ...	10	10	9	7	5	10	4 ¹	3 ¹	18	8 ... A
...	100	2	B Quainton <i>M</i> ... <i>in Chentone</i>	...	2½	4	2½	2½	2½	2	1 ¹	4	3 2 B
...	100	2	b in do. <i>M</i> ...	10	7½	9	8	7	7	3	6	21	6 6 b
...	...	2	C Winchendon [<i>M?</i>] ... <i>Wichende</i>	...	10	9	8	6	6	2	7	18	1 1 C
20 ⁿ	...	7	b Witchendone <i>M</i> ...	20	10	11	12	12	12	3	8	23	8 1 b
...	40	8	D Ludgershall [<i>M</i>] ...	...	9	8	6	5	5	2 ¹	5	13	4 5 D
...	...	1	b in Lotegarser (<i>M</i>) ...	...	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	... b
...	500	2	E Grendon Und. <i>M</i> ... <i>Grennedone</i>	...	2	8	7	6	6	3	5	12	2 3 E
...	50	2	F Tetchwick <i>M</i> ... <i>Tochingewiche</i>	15	2	2	1½	1	1½	1	2	3	... 1 F
...	...	...	G in Shipton Lee ...	...	1	½	¼	¼	¼	½	...	1	... G
...	...	1	b in Sibdone <i>M</i> ...	...	7	7	5	3	3	2½	2 ¹	4	1 1 b
...	...	1	c in do. ...	10	2	1	1	½	½	1½	...	...	... c
...	400	2	H in Sortelai <i>M</i> ...	...	4	6	3	3	3	2	3	5	4 2 H
...	30	1	b in do. ...	5	1	1	½	½	½	1	...	1	1 ... b
...	...	1	I in Chersley ...	...	1½	1	1½	1½	1½	1	...	1	1 2 I
...	...	6	b in Cer(d)eslai <i>M</i> ...	10	8½	6	7	6	6	4	2	6	2 4 b
...	...	8	K Policot <i>M</i> ... <i>Policote</i>	10	10	8	7	6	6	4	4	13	1 4 K
...	200	5	L Wotton <i>M</i> ... <i>Oltone</i>	10	10	10	8	7	7	3	7	10	13 5 L
...	...	6	M in Ashendon <i>M</i> ...	...	8	6	5	4	3	2	4	4	4 2 M
...	...	2	b in Assedune ...	10	2	2	1½	1½	1½	2	...	...	3 ... b
...	...	2	N Beachington ...	...	2	3	1¼	1¼	1¼	...	3	2	3 ... N
...	...	...	b in Bichedone ...	...	¼	...	¼	¼	¼	½	...	1	... b
				112¼	113	94	...	84	43	63	163	65	40

TICHES(H)ELLE (? IXHILL) (PART OF ASHENDON)

10	200	20	A Brill <i>M</i> ... <i>Brunhelle</i>	20	25	18	—	50 ⁿ	3	17 ⁵	19	13	2 A
...	200	2	B Wormenhall [<i>M</i>] ... <i>Wernelle</i>	5	5	7	6	6	2	3	16	6	4 B
...	...	1	C Waldrige ...	½	1	¾	½	½	1	...	...	...	... C
...	...	2	b in Wa(l)drige ...	2¼	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	...	1 b
10	...	5	D Ilmer [<i>M?</i>] ... <i>in Imere</i>	4	5	5	5	4	2	3	8	1	4 D
...	...	5	E Aston Sandford (<i>M</i>) ...	2	5	5	5	4	2	3	7	...	4 E
...	...	2	b in Estone (<i>M</i>) <i>v.p.130</i> ...	4½	4½	5	4	5	3	1½	3	4	6 b

TICHESELLE

A. Return 38*l.* white silver *et pro foresta* 12*l.* burnt and weighed;
T.R.E. 18*l.* by tale.

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
F Nigel d. Albini ...	Nigel Wast ...	F 7 thegns men of the King S F
G Gilo bro. Ansculf ...	Alvred d. Tame ...	G Seulf man of Earl Ralf S ... G
H C. of Mortain <i>p.134</i>	MonksGrestein(3 <i>h.</i>)	H Ulf man of Earl Harold S... H
b Miles Crispin ...	Richard ...	b not given ... b
I do. ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	I Wigot de Wallingford ... I
K Walt. Giffard ...	Demesne (10 <i>hid.</i>)	K Seric son of Alveva ... K
L do. ...	Demesne (4 <i>hid.</i>)...	L Alric f. Goding King's thegn L
M do. ...	Roger ...	M Alric f. Goding K's thegn S M
N do. ...	Demesne (2½ <i>hid.</i>)	N Alric [f.G.] King's thegn S N
O do. ...	Hugh ...	O Ulward man of Q. Edith S... O
P Robert d'Oily ...	Robert f. Walter ...	P Alwid puella 2½ <i>hid.</i> <i>see D.B.</i> P
Q Roger d'Ivri ...	Picot ...	Q Azor f. Toti m. of Q. Edith S Q

VOTESDON (WADDES DON)

A Ab. of St. Albans...	Demesne (2 <i>hid.</i>)...	A The Church of St. Alban ... A
B Walt. d. Vernon ...	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>)...	B Turgot man of E. Lewin S B
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Robert ...	b a man of Azor f. Toti S ... b
c Bp of Coutances ...	Ranulf ...	c Levric man of E. Edwin S... c
d Will. f. Ansculf ...	Ranulf ...	d Levric 5 h. M ; 2 others ⁿ S... d
e do. ...	Bernard ...	e Alwi man of Brictric S ... e
f Miles Crispin ...	Seric ...	f the same Seric m. of Brictric S f
C do. ...	Demesne (10 <i>hid.</i>)	C Brictric man of Queen Edith C
D do. ...	Gaufrid... ..	D not given ... D
b do. ...	Two englishmen ...	b the same, men of Haming S b
c G. d. Mandeville ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	c Suen man of Asgar staller <i>L</i> c
d Will. Pevrel... ..	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	d Alwin a King's thegn ... d
e do. ...	Ralph ...	e Alwin S ; <i>his man</i> ¼ <i>hid.</i> S ?... e
E do. ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	E Alwin a King's thegn ... E
F G. d. Mandeville ...	Demesne (4 <i>hid.</i>)...	F Suen man of Asgar staller <i>L</i> F
G Will. f. Ansculf ...	Pagan ...	G { Almer m. of Bond 7 h. M S man of Abss of Barking 1 h. S man of Eddeva the fair ⅔ h. S G
H Ed. d. Salisbury ...	Ranulf ...	H Almar <i>de</i> Ulwene d. Creslow S H

TICHESELE

- I.** From a fishery 100 eels.
K. *Parcus bestiarum silvitarum.*
P. Pro 5½ *hid.* se defend. Hæ 5½ *hid.* sunt
8 *hid.* Silva 200 porc. nisi est parcus
Regis in quo jacet.

A N
P O L
M
BH I K EC
FD

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
...	...	7	F Kingsey Eie M ...	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	7	8	5	7	3	4	10	...	4 F
...	...	2	G in this hund. ... 24 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	2	...	1 G
...	...	6	H in Ickford (M) ...	6	6	7	6	6	2 ²	2	3	10	... H
...	...	4	b Iforde ...	10	4	4	4	3	1	3	6	...	2 b
10 ⁿ	100	6	I Shabbington ⁿ M Sobintone	10	10	10	10	10	3	7	12	7	6 I
18	100 ⁿ	10	K Long Crendon ⁿ M Credendone	20	25	15	15	20	5	20	52	10	10 K
...	100	3	L Chilton M ... Ciltone	10	10	8	8	7	4	6	10	4	3 L
...	...	2	M Easington M ... Hesintone	5	4	3	3	3	2	2	5	...	2 M
...	100	3	N Dorton M ... Dortone	5	7	5	5	5	3	4	12	6	3 N
...	...	1	O Addingrove M ... Eddingrave	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	4	2	3	2	3	2	7	1 O
...	200	...	P Oakley ⁿ ... Achelei	8 ⁿ	7	7	6	6	3	4	9	7	3 P
...	200	1	Q Lesa v.p.133 ...	2	4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	2	4	2	2 Q
122 $\frac{3}{4}$						137	118	144	44	88	182	77	58

VOTESDON (WADDESDON PART OF ASHENDON)

...	...	2	A Granborough [M] Greneberge	5	5	9	5	4	5	2	7	7	4	1 A	
...	...	2	B Marston M	...	3	6	5	5	2	1 ¹	3 ¹	6	5	1 B	
...	...	1	b in Merstone	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	b
...	...	...	c in do.	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	...	c
...	...	2	d in do. MM	...	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	4	3	5	2	3 ¹	8	3	... d	
...	...	...	e in do.	...	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	1	... e
...	...	1	f in do.	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	... f
12	150	28	C Waddesdon M Volesdone	39 $\frac{3}{4}$	27	28	30	16	30	8	20	50	10	17 C	
...	100	2	D in Claydon M	...	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	5	4	1	4	2	3	4	3	3 D	
...	...	1	b in Claidone	...	2	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	3	... b
...	40	2	c in Claindone MM	...	7	5	5	3	4	2	3	4	3	... c	
...	150	4	d Claindone M	...	10	10	10	12	10	3	5 ²	16	2	3 d	
...	<i>f</i>	1	e in do. MM	...	30	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	2	2	2	1	1 ¹	4	... e	
...	40	3	E Hogshaw M Hocsaga	...	5	5	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	3	3	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	2	... E
...	300	10	F Quarendon M Querendone	...	10	10	10	6	5	8	4	8	20	8	... F
...	...	10	G Hoggeston (M) Hochestone p.130	...	8 $\frac{5}{8}$	10	5	7	7	2	8	12	7	5 G	
...	...	1	H in this hund.	...	10	1 $\frac{3}{8}$	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	1	1	4 H
					99 $\frac{3}{4}$	101	84		84	34	63	138	53	34	

VOTESDONE

Bd. A man of Earl Edwin held
1 $\frac{1}{4}$ hid. of the King's soc,
and Brictruin, man of Earl
Tosti $\frac{1}{4}$ hid.

D E A G
.....
Essedene
C B F

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086		UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065	
A	Bp of Bayeux	...	Robert d. Romeneſ	A Godwin man of E. Lewin S
b	Miles Crispin	...	Eddulf ...	b Lewi man of Edwi S ...
c	G. d. Mandeville	...		c Ulf man of Asgar staller S } Alwi man of Alwin Vari $\frac{1}{2}$ h. S }
B	Walt. Giffard	...	Ralf ...	B 4 thegns; Alwin $2\frac{1}{2}$ M, Almar $\frac{1}{2}$, Edwin $1\frac{1}{4}$ M, Thori huscarl $\frac{3}{4}$ S
C	Will. Pevrel	...	Ambrose ...	C Gethe wife of Earl Ralf S ...
D	Will. f. Ansculf	...	Ailric 'graviler' ...	D the same Ailric ...
b	C. of Mortain	...	Monks Greſtein (<i>4h</i>) <i>see p. 134</i>	b Ulf ſon of Borgerete S ... a man of Bond ſtaller $\frac{1}{2}$ h. S
E	Will. f. Ansculf	...	Baldwin ...	E the ſame Baldwin ...
F	Ralf d. Felgers	...	Demesne (6 <i>hid.</i>) ...	F Cſs Goda ; a man of Harold 3 <i>hid.</i> <i>pro Manerio</i> S
G	do.	...	do. (2 <i>hid.</i>) ...	G Eingar man of Harold S ...
H	Mano Breton	...	(? Demesne) ...	H not given ...
I	do.	...	Berner ...	I Thori a King's thegn ...
b	Bp of Bayeux	...	Demesne (2 <i>hid.</i>) ...	b not given ...
K	Alvric cook	...	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>) ...	K Queen Edith ...

ROVELAI

X	The King	...	Bochingeham cum	X	Bortone	...	X
b	Bp Remigius	has	the church	b	Bp Wlwi	held it	b
c	Walt. Giffard	...	Hugh	c	Alric	a King's thegn S	c
d	Roger d'Ivry	...	Fulco	d	Thori	man of the King S	d
e	Bp of Lincoln	...	(? Demesne)	e	Bp Wlwi	...	e
A	Bp of Bayeux	...	Ansgot d. Ros	A	Wilaf	man of Earl Lewin S	A
B	do.	...	Robert d. Tham	B	Alnod	'Chentisc' K's thegn S	B
C	do.	...	Ernulf d. Hesding	C	Wilaf	thegn of Earl Lewin S	C
D	do.	...	Ilbert d. Laci	D	Alnod	a King's thegn S	D
E	do.	...	Ernulf d. Hesding	E	Wilaf	man of Earl Lewin S	E
F	Walt. Giffard	...	Ralf	F	Tovi	m. of Alric f. Goding S	F
G	do.	...	Hugh	G	Alric	a King's thegn S	G
b	C. of Mortain	...	Ralf	b	Lewin	m. of Alric f. Goding S	b
H	Walt. Giffard	...	Hugh	H	Alric	a King's thegn S	H
b	Lewin d. Newham	...	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>)	b	the ſame	Lewin d. Newham S	b
c	Roger d'Ivri	...	Lewin	c	Levric	man of Azor S	c
I	do.	...	Godefrid	I	Azor	f. Toti S	I
K	Will. d. Warren	...	Brienz	K	Edward	man of Earl Toſti S	K

ROVELAI

X. T.R.E. 10*l.* by tale ; T.R.W.
16*l.* white ſilver.

Xb. 3 bordars, 10 cotters.

O. In totis valentiis valet 14*l.* ; de
pastura 30*s.*

D. De aliis redditis villæ 20*s.*

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUES			TEAMS		MEN		
						1065	Q.R.	1086	den	men	vill	bor	serv
...	...	6	A in Addington [M] ...	6	6	5	3	3	2	3 ¹	8	2	4 A
...	...	...	b in Edintone ...	...	...	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₄	1 ¹ / ₂	...	...	...	...	b
...	...	3	c in this hund. M ...	10	3 ¹ / ₂	3 ¹ / ₂	2	2	1	2 ¹ / ₂	3	1	1 c
...	100	2	B Edgcott (M) ... <i>Achecote v.p. 130</i>	5	5	8	5	5	2	6	10	9	2 B
...	...	7	C Adstock M ... <i>Edestocho p. 130</i>	10	10	7	8	5	3	3 ¹	5	2	... C
...	30	5	D in Marsh Gibbon M ...	4	5	3 ¹ / ₂	3 ¹ / ₂	3 ¹ / ₂	2	3	5	3	3 D
...	...	...	b in Mersa(e) (M) ...	15	11	13	8	8	3	10	17	3	8 b
...	...	1	E in this hund. ...	2	11 ¹ / ₂	1 ³ / ₁₀	1 ³ / ₁₀	1 ³ / ₁₀	1 ¹ / ₂	...	1	1	... E
...	100	3	F Twyford M ... <i>in Tueverde</i>	17	18	12	8	10	3 ²	11 ²	15	10	9 F
...	...	2	G Charndon (Creden-) M	10	10	9	8	8	2	8	18	11	4 G
15	30	...	H Padbury (Pateb-) M ...	20	14	12	7	12	3 ¹	8 ³	15	6	8 H
20	...	4	I in Thornbro'-berge M ...	14 ¹ / ₄	11	8	6	8	3	8	14	8	3 I
...	...	2	b in this hund. ...	18	3 ³ / ₄	3	2	2 ³ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	2	1	2 b
...	100	4	K Steeple Claydon M ... <i>Claindone</i>	20	24	11	11	16	5	19	50	3	7 K
				127	124	87		83	31	82	163	60	51

ROVELAI (PART OF BUCKINGHAM)

14	...	8 ^p	X Buckingham cum	...	1	8	10	...	16 ⁿ	2	3 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	...	11	2	X
10	/	2	b Bourton	...	...	4	7	6	6	...	...	3	13 ⁿ	...	...	b
...	...	2	c Burtone (M)	...	1	2	1	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1	1	2	2	...	...	c
...	...	1 ¹ / ₂	d Hasleic ² v.p.133	...	1	1 ¹ / ₂	2	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	...	...	1	1	d	
...	...	1 ¹ / ₂	e Gawcot	...	4	1	1 ¹ / ₂	2	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	...	...	2	1	e
<i>Chausecote</i>																
2 ² / ₃	200	8	A Preston(-lone) [M]	...	15	8	4	4	5	3	5	11	7	6	A	
2 ¹ / ₃	100	5	B Chetwood [M]	...	10	5	3	2	3	2	2 ¹ / ₂	7	2	6	B	
<i>Cetewode</i>																
...	100	3 ⁿ	C Barton ⁿ (Ber-) [M]	...	10	5	3	2	14 ⁿ	2	1 ²	...	3	4	C	
4	800	8	D Tingewick ⁿ [M]	...	10	8	10	6	10 ⁿ	3	4 ¹	3	2	10	D	
<i>Tedinwicke</i>																
...	— ⁿ	5	E in Lenborough M	...	7	5	4	3	3	2	1 ²	1	6	3	E	
...	...	2	<i>in (L)Edingeb- M p.133</i>	10	3	2	2	3	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹	...	...	2	...	F	
4	100	14	G in Hillesden M	...	18	14	8	8	6	4	10	17	9	7	G	
...	10	1	b in I(U)lesdone	...	19	1	1	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ² / ₀	1 ¹ / ₂	1	...	...	3	...	b
10	...	2	H in Beachampton M	...	5	5	4 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	4	2	3	5	9	1	H	
...	...	3	b in Bec(h)entone M	...	4	4	2 ¹ / ₂	2	2	2	2	5	6	2	b	
...	...	1	c in do. v.p.137	...	10	1	1	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂	1	...	2	...	...	c
— ⁿ	...	6	I Thornton M	...	8	8	10	8	6	6	3 ¹	5 ¹	12	5	3	I
<i>Ternitone v.p.137</i>																
...	...	...	K Caversfield (Oxf.) ⁿ	5	5	8	5	5	5	3	5	12	9	...	K	
<i>Cavrefelle M</i>																
					101	93	78		88	34	43	80	92	46		

E. From the wood 4s.**I.** A mill of 10 ores.**K.** Detached within Oxfordshire;
a 'vivarium piscium.'

ROVELAI

D X : IH

C E :

B A G

LAMUA I

H C

F K A

DG B

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A King (Earl Aubrey	had it) (<i>2 hid.</i>) ...	A Azor f. Tored King's thegn A
b C. of Mortain ...	Alverad... ..	b Alric m. of Alwin f. Goding S b
B Bp of Bayeux ...	(? Demesne)... ..	B Godric 3 h. M, Wilaus 2 h. M S B
b Robert d'Oily ...	Robert	b Azor son of Toti S ... b
c King's Alms ...	a cripple	c the same cripple ... c
C Roger d'Ivri... ..	Pagan	C Alwin brother of Bp Wlwi S C
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Roger	b Alnod cilt King's thegn ... b
D do. ...	Robert d'Oily and	D Turgis m. of Bald. f. Herluin S D
	Roger d'Ivri... ..	
E do. ...	Turstin	E Leit a King's thegn S... E
F do. ...	Gilbert Maminot ...	F Earl Lewin F
b Walt. Giffard ...	Hugh	b Suartin man of Asgar <i>L</i> ... b
c G. d. Mandeville ...	Osbert	c Suarting man of Asgar <i>L</i> ... c
G Lewin d. Newham	Demesne (<i>2 hid.</i>)...	G the same Lewin S ... G
b Walt. Giffard ...	Turstin	b Uluric m. of Alric f. Goding S b
c do. ...	do.	c Al. f. G. 2h. M; Ederic m. of Asgar <i>c</i>
		1½ h. M; m. of Azor f. Toti ½ h. S
H do. ...	Robert	H Alric f. Goding S... H
I do. ...	Hugh	I Syric man of Queen Edith S I
K do. ...	Berner	K Suen Suert m. of E. Edwin S K
b Mano Breton ...	Girard	b Rawen man of Bp Wlwi S... b
L King's Alms... ..	Hugh f. Gozer ...	L 2 thegns Rauaius & Ulward S L
b Roger d'Ivri... ..	Haimard	b Lewin man of Burgered S... b
M do. ...	Fulco	M Azor son of Toti S ... M
N Robert d'Oily ...	Turstin	N Azor son of Toti S ... N
O Will. d. Felgers ...	Demesne (<i>3 car.</i>)...	O Wenesi the chamberlain S... O

I. The adjoining Lillingston Lovell, 2½ + 2½ hides held by Benzelin and Richard Engayne, is surveyed in

Oxfordshire (160 a), but looks as if it once belonged to Bucks.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN			
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv	
² 2 ₃	200	1	A Bidlesden <i>M</i>	41 ¹ ₄	8	2	4	11 ¹ ₂	1 ²	2 ⁸	4	5	4 A	
...	...	...	b in <i>Bech(t)esdene</i> ...	5	1	...	...	0	0	0	...	...	...	b
...	50	...	B Shalleston <i>M</i>	5	5	4	1	11 ¹ ₂	2	2 ¹	4	1	3 B	
...	50	...	<i>Celdestane</i>											
...	50	...	b in <i>Celdestone</i>	4	5	3	11 ¹ ₂	2	2	3	4	3	4 b	
...	...	...	c Eversaw	10	1	2	1	1	1	2	...	2	...	c
...	...	...	<i>Evrescl</i>											
² 18	250	5	C Westbury <i>M v.p.131</i> ...	21 ¹ ₂	7	3	21 ¹ ₂	3	21 ¹ ₂	41 ¹ ₂	8	2	1 C	
...	250	5	b in <i>do.</i> <i>M</i>	5	21 ¹ ₂	7	3	21 ¹ ₂	3	2	5	8	3	1 b
...	50	6	D Stowe [<i>M</i>]	5	5	5	3	0	2	1 ² 11 ¹ ₂	...	3	...	D
...	30	4	E Foscott [<i>M</i>]	6	4	3	3	3	2	2	1	2	1 E	
...	400	12	<i>Foxescote</i>											
...	400	12	F Leckhamstead [<i>M</i>] ...	18	12	8	6	6	3 ¹	4 ⁴	18	6	2 F	
1 ² ₃	50	1	b in <i>Lechamstede</i> (<i>M</i>) ...	2	1	11 ¹ ₂	1	11 ¹ ₂	1	...	1	2	1 b	
...	150	...	c in <i>do.</i> <i>M</i>	29	3	3	11 ¹ ₂	1	11 ¹ ₂	1	11 ¹ ₂	—	...	c
10	...	2	G Maid's Morton <i>M</i>	5	5	2	2	2	11 ¹ ₂ 11 ¹ ₂	11 ¹ ₂	3	2	5 G	
...	...	2	<i>in Moretone</i>											
...	...	2	b in <i>do. v.p.130</i> (<i>M</i>) ...	2	2	1	1 ¹ ₂	11 ¹ ₂	11 ¹ ₂	...	2	4	...	b
...	...	4	c in <i>do.</i> <i>M</i>	4	4	3	1	4	2 ²	...	1	3	...	c
...	806	1	H Akeley (<i>M</i>)	14	3	4	3	2	2	1 ² 21 ¹ ₂	2	4	2 H	
...	1200	5	<i>Achelei v.p.130</i>											
...	1200	5	I Lillingston ⁿ Dayr. <i>M</i> ...	5	5	5	21 ¹ ₂	2	3	11 ¹ ₂ 2 ¹	6	5	...	I
...	50	2	<i>Lelinchestane p.130</i>											
...	50	2	K Langport <i>M</i>	31 ¹ ₂	4	2	2	2	1 ¹	2	2	2	2 K	
...	40	1	<i>in Lanport v.p.130</i>											
...	40	1	b in <i>Landport</i>	21 ¹ ₂	3	11 ¹ ₂	4 ⁵	11 ¹ ₂	1	1 ¹	1	3	1 b	
...	200	4	L in <i>Dodford v.p.131</i> ...	2	4	2	1	1	1 ³	...	...	...	3 L	
...	200	4	b in <i>Dodeforde M</i>	10	2	4	11 ¹ ₂	1	1	1 ³	...	4	1 b	
5	...	8	M Radclive <i>M</i>	5	8	6	4	5	3	3 ²	6	4	3 M	
...	...	6	<i>Radeclive v.p.131</i>											
8	...	6	N Stratford <i>M</i>	8 ⁿ	8	7	5	7	3	5	10	5	3 N	
...	...	8	<i>Stratford</i>											
71 ¹ ₂	...	8	O Turweston [<i>M</i>]	5	8	5	4	4	1 ²	5	6	4	4 O	
...	...	...	<i>Turvestone</i>											
				101	119	70		60	36	47	89	67	41	

N. One of the hides missing here was probably the 1 hide at Boycott surveyed in Oxfordshire 160 a 2.

I
A LD K H F
O CB N M GE

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086		UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065	
A	Ab. of St. Albans	Demesne (6 <i>hid.</i>)...	A	The Church of St. Alban ... A
B	Bp of Lisieux ...	Robert d. Nowers	B	Blacheman m. of E. Tosti <i>L</i> B
b	C. of Mortain ...	Monks St. Nicholas	b	Edward cilt S b
C	do. ...	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>)...	C	Edward cilt m. of E. Harold S C
D	Earl Hugh ...	Robert	D	Eddeva the fair D
b	Gozelin Breton ...	Robert	b	2 brothers S... .. b
E	Turstin f. Rolf ...	Demesne (9½ <i>hid.</i>)	E	Saxi a King's thegn E
b	Miles Crispin ...	William	b	Osulf S... .. b
c	C. of Mortain ...	Almer	c	Saward man of Earl Harold S c
F	Walt. Giffard ...	Hugh d. Bolbec ...	F	2 brothers for 2 manors S ... F
G	do. ...	Robert	G	Wiga a King's thegn S ... G
b	Will. f. Ansculf ...	Pagan	b	2 men of Brictric S b
c	Miles Crispin ...	Robert	c	Herch man of Brictric S ... c
H	do. ...	Nigel	H	Brictric m. of Q. Edith S ... H
b	do. ...	Almar	b	same Almar m. of Brictric S b
c	do. ...	Turstin (priest)	c	Lemar man of Brictric S ... c
d	Gunfrid d. Cioches	Wibald	d	Suen a King's thegn S ... d
e	C. of Mortain ...	Alan	e	Ordmer man of Brictric S... e
I	do. ...	Ranulf	I	Lewin man of Godric S ... I
b	Mano Breton ...	Helgot	b	4 thegns m. of E. Lewin, Ulwen, Lewin d. Mentmore, Brictric S
K	Ed. d. Salisbury ...	Ranulf	K	Ulwen's wife S K
L	Hugh d. Belcamp	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>)...	L	Alwin man of Queen Edith S L
M	Gozelin Breton ...	Demesne (6 <i>hid.</i>)...	M	2 men of King for 2 manors Godwin 2 h., Torchil 8 h. S
N	do. ...	do. (½ <i>hid.</i>)...	N	Alwin m. of Eddeva fair S... N
b	Will. f. Ansculf ...	Pagan	b	11 socmen S b
c	Miles Crispin ...	Roger	c	Almar man of Brictric <i>L</i> ... c
d	Azelina ⁿ ...	2 Englishmen	d	the same 2 Englishmen ... d
e	Godwin bedel K's	thegn	e	Alric Bolest... .. e
f	Hugh. d. Belcamp	(? Demesne)...	f	Dot 'homo dei' S f
g	Walt. Giffard ...	2 Englishmen	g	the same 2 Englishmen S... g
O	C. of Mortain ...	Alan	O	3 thegns men of 3 lords ⁿ S O
b	do. ...	Almer	b	Siward man of Earl Harold S b
c	Walt. Giffard ...	Turstin f. Rolf ...	c	Alwen 'sub' Siward S cf 151 a 2 c
d	Miles Crispin ...	William... ..	d	Osulf man of Brictric S ... d
P	do. ...	Nigel	P	name not given <i>L</i> P
b	Will. f. Ansculf ...	Pagan	b	4 socm. m. of Brictric, Wige S b
c	Countess Judith ...	Torchil	c	the same Torchil S c

C. De pastura ferrum 5 car.**E.** Mens teams 14½ + ½ to be made.**Nd.** Azelina uxor Rad. Tailgebosh.**O.** The 3 thegns (T. R. E.) were men of E. Lewin, Godwin cilt Ab. of Westminster, and Alverad de Wing.

Mills shill.	Wood swine	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
...	...	3	A Aston Abbots <i>M</i> ... <i>Estone</i>	10	12	10	6	10	3	6	7	12	1 A
...	B in Crofton <i>M</i> ...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	4	3	3	2	2	4	4	... B
...	...	5	b in Crouftone (<i>M</i>) ...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	6	4	4	3	2	8	...	... b
...	...	25 ⁿ	C Wing <i>M</i> ... <i>Witenunge</i>	5	40	32	31	31	4	21 ¹⁵	51	20	... C
...	...	4	D Mentmore <i>M</i> ... <i>Mentmore</i>	18	10	14	10	12	4	6	18	...	3 D
...	b ? Grove ... <i>Langrave</i>	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 $\frac{7}{20}$	1	1	1	2	...	... b
...	...	10	E in Hardwick <i>M</i> ...	19	19	16	10	15	3	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 ⁿ	4	8 E
...	...	1	b in Hardwic	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	...	...	2	... b
...	...	2	c in Hardwick	2	2	2	2	2	2	...	2	1	1 c
...	...	6	F Whitchurch <i>M</i> ... <i>Wicherce</i>	30	8	12	10	8	8	3	7	14	2 8 F
...	...	1	G in Littlecot <i>M</i> ...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	3	3 G
...	...	1	b in Litecota ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1	... b
...	...	1	c in Litecote ...	5	1	1	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	...	1	... c
...	...	5	H in Wingrave <i>M</i> ...	5	5	5	5	2	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	2	1 H
...	...	3	b in Withungrave <i>M</i> ...	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	7	...	... b
...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	c in do.	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1	...	... c
...	...	5	d in do. <i>M</i> ...	6	5	6	5	5	3	2	8	3	1 d
...	...	1	e in do.	15	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	... e
...	...	1	I in Elstrop ...	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	2	1 I
...	...	3	b in Helpetrope <i>M</i> ...	5	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	4	1	2	2	1	2	... 2 b
...	...	5	K Creslow (<i>M</i>) ... <i>Cresselai v.p.130</i>	5	5	6	6	4	5	4	2	6	1 5 K
20	...	2	L Linchlade <i>M</i> ... <i>Lincelada</i>	15	15	16	10	5	10	2	11	22	6 5 L
...	...	4	M Cublington <i>M</i> ... <i>Coblincote</i>	10	10	9	6	3	6	4	5	8	8 5 M
16	...	1	N in Soulbury <i>M</i> ...	1 $\frac{7}{2}$	4	2	2	2	1	3	4	2	3 N
16	...	3	b in Soleberie (<i>M</i>) ...	5 $\frac{7}{2}$	17	8	7	7	3	9 ⁵	14	5	3 b
...	...	2	c in do.	1 $\frac{3}{8}$	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	...	... c
...	...	1	d in do.	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	...	... d
...	...	1	e in do.	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	1	...	...	1	... e
...	f in do.	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{4}{20}$	$\frac{4}{20}$	$\frac{4}{20}$	...	...	...	...	... f
...	g in this hund.	10	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{7}{40}$	$\frac{7}{40}$	$\frac{7}{40}$	...	...	...	... g
...	...	2	O in Burston (<i>V.H.</i>)	2	2	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	3	1	... O
...	b in Bricstoch	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	2	...	... b
...	...	1	c in do. <i>v.p.132</i>	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	...	...	2	1 c
...	...	1	d in do.	4	1	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	...	...	3	...	... d
...	P in Hollington	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{4}{20}$	$\frac{3}{20}$	$\frac{3}{20}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	...	... P
...	...	2	b in Holendone	$\frac{7}{8}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	3	...	5 b
...	c in Holedene	3	1 $\frac{7}{8}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	1	3	... c
				142 $\frac{1}{2}$	197	162	142		58	102	228	86	56

P N L
G
K M C

K M C
F A H B D
E O I

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Bp of Winchester	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>) ...	A The Church of St. Peter's Winch ^r .
B Ab. of Barking ...	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>) ...	B The Church of Barking ... B
C Bp of Bayeux ...	Roger	C name not given S C
b Hugh d. Bolbec ...	(? Demesne)	b 2 men of Brictric S b
D Gozelin Breton ...	Ralf	D Alwin man of Eddeva fair S D
E Walt. Giffard ...	Ralf	E Toroi man of Earl Lewin S E
b Miles Crispin ...	Roger	b Lepsi man of Brictric S ... b
c do. ...	Suerting	c Lepsi man of Brictric S ... c
d C. of Mortain ...	Ralf	d Alvied of Aylesbury S... .. d
e do. ...	Bernard	e 2 men of St. Albans S... .. e
f do. ...	Fulcold	f Gladwin man of St. Albans S f
g do. ...	[? Turgis] ⁿ	g [? a man of St. Alban's] ... g
F G. d. Mandeville ...	Germund	F Asgar the staller F
b C. of Mortain ...	Ralf	b Goduin priest of Abp Stigand S b
G Robert d'Oily ...	Ralf Basset	G Brictric a King's thegn S ... G
H Gilb. de Gand ...	Demesne (10 <i>hid.</i>) ...	H Ulf a King's thegn S H
I Rob. d. Todeni ...	Gilbert	I Osulf a King's thegn S I
b Will. f. Ansculf ...	Suertin	b Leuing man of the King S... b
c Robert d'Oily ...	Ralf	c Fin a Dane S c
d Suarting a King's thegn ...	... ..	d Fin a Dane S d
e Hugh d. Bolbec ...	(? Demesne)	e Ulwin de Wadone S e
f C. of Mortain ...	Ralf	f 3 men of Abp Stigand S ... f
g do. ...	Ranulf	g Leuing man of St. Alban's S g
K do. ...	Alestan	K Bruman man of Abp Stigand S K
b Miles Crispin ...	Suerting	b Lepsi man of Brictric S ... b
c Gilb. de Gand ...	Suerting	c a man of Ulf L c
L Mano Breton ...	Helgot	L Alvrice a King's thegn S ... L
b C. of Mortain ...	William f. Nigel ...	b a widow <i>de</i> Brictric S ... d
c do. ...	Lepsi	c Wiga man of King S c

A. Silva 600 porc. et 10s.

B. Probably 1 hide was in Horton.

Eg. The entry is an appendix or note to Ef and says that 'from the manor of Pitston Turgis homo comitis took

6 hides, which the said Count unjustly holds in dominio suo.' I suppose this to mean that 6 hides were taken from St. Alban's, including the 4½ hides of Ee and Ef,

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
						1065	Q.R.	1086	den	men	vill	bor	serv
...	600 ^a	5	A Ivinghoe <i>M</i> <i>Evingehou</i>	20	25	15	10	18	3 ¹	20 ¹	28	4	6 A
...	...	6	B Slapton [<i>M</i>] <i>Slapetone</i>	6 ⁿ	6	6	6	6	2	4	18	4	4 B
...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	C in <i>Wadone</i>	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	...	C
...	...	1	b in <i>do.</i>	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	1	...	b
...	...	1	D in <i>this hund.</i>	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	...	1	2	D
...	40	...	E in <i>Pitstone M</i>	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	1	2	...	2	3	3	1 E
...	40	...	b in <i>Pincenestorne MM</i>	5	2	2	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	3	1	b
...	25	...	c in <i>Pincelestorne</i>	2	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	1	2	c
...	30	...	d in <i>do.</i> <i>M</i>	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	...	1	...	d
...	30	...	e in <i>do.</i>	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	...	e
...	10	...	f in <i>do.</i>	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	f
...	...	...	g in <i>do.</i> ⁿ <i>v.p.</i> <i>I3I^c</i>	25	[1 $\frac{1}{2}$]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	g
...	...	3	F in <i>Aston Iving. MM</i> ...	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	4 F
...	...	...	b in <i>Estone</i>	5	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	...	b
³ 15	800	6	G Marsworth (<i>M</i>)... .. <i>Misscorde</i>	20	9	20	20	20	4	5	22	...	8 G
² 15 $\frac{1}{3}$	400	4	H Edlesborough <i>M</i> <i>Eddinberge</i>	20	14	14	13	13	4	10	26	4	10 H
...	...	2	I in <i>Cheddington MM</i> ...	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	3	3	1 ¹	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	...	4 I
...	...	...	b in <i>Cetedone</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	...	...	b
...	...	1	c in <i>Cetendone</i>	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	1	1	...	2	...	c
...	...	1	d in <i>do.</i>	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	1	1	1	...	1	2	d
...	...	...	e in <i>Cetedone</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	e
...	...	...	f in <i>do.</i>	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	1	...	f
...	...	...	g in <i>do.</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	...	g
...	...	...	K in <i>Horton</i>	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{2}{5}$	$\frac{2}{5}$	$\frac{2}{5}$	...	...	...	...	K
...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	b in <i>Hortone</i>	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	...	2 b
...	...	...	c in <i>do.</i>	14	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	c
...	200	3	L in <i>Drayton Beau. M.</i> ...	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ^D	4	5	4	4	1	3	13	...	2 L
...	25	1	b in <i>Draitone v.p.</i> <i>I37</i> ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	b
...	25	1	c in <i>do.</i> <i>c.</i> <i>10</i>	1 $\frac{2}{3}$	1	1	1	1	...	...	2	2	c
				120	82	85		81	28	48	126	28	47

leaving 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ for Eg ; if this 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ is included in Ed, there is 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ missing.

L. 6 hid. 3 virg. and 3 acres.

B
K H
I AF
L G EC

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Bp of Bayeux ...	Turstin d. Giron ...	A Earl Lewin A
B Ab. of S. Alban's...	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>)...	B The Church of St. Alban's B
C Bp of Coutances ...	William	C Ulward cilt C
b Miles Crispin ...	Nigel	b Brictric a King's thegn S ... b
D Nigel d. Bereville	<i>see note</i>	D Lewin de Neuham D
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Roger	b 2 brothers of Alward cilt S b
E Lewin d. Newham	King's thegn... ..	E The same Lewin S E
b C. of Mortain ...	Ralf	b 4 thegns m. of Alwin, Alwin de Neuham, Alward & Azor S b
F do. ...	Ralf & Almar ...	F Brixtuin King's thegn 4½ <i>hid.</i> ; Almar m. of Harold 1½ <i>hid.</i> S F
b The King	Demesne (3¾ <i>hid.</i>)	b Earl Harold... .. b
c Walt. Giffard ...	William	c 2 thegns, Alward 4¾ <i>hid.</i> M. S and Alwi 2¾ <i>hid.</i> M. S c
d G. d. Mandeville ...	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>)...	d Suen man of Asgar <i>L</i> d
e Will. f. Ansculf ...	Pagan	e Oswi man of Brictric S ... e
G Walt. Giffard ...	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>)...	G Alward cilt G
H do. ...	Walter d. Bec. ...	H Edward cilt... .. H
I do. ...	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>)...	I Edward cilt... .. I
K do. ...	William	K not given K
b Lewin d. Newham	(? Demesne)... ..	b the same Lewin b
c C. of Mortain ...	Alverad... ..	c Edwin man of Azor S ... c
L Rich. Engaine ...	(? Demesne)... ..	L Ulward a King's thegn ... L
b Urso d. Berseres...	Demesne (1½ <i>hid.</i>)	b Morcar man of Earl Harold b

B. De silva 10s.**Cb.** The men's teams should be 3½ and 2½ could be made.**E.** Valet et valuit 30s. quando receptum (? T.R.E.) 40s.**Fb.** T.R.E. by tale, later 'white silver'; men's teams 1½ and 1½ to be made.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
						1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
...	...	8	A Dunton <i>M</i> <i>Dodintone</i>	10	8	5	5	5	2 ¹	3 ²	...	6	4 A
...	— ⁿ	19	B Winslow <i>M</i> <i>Weneslai</i>	15	19	11 ² ₃	11 ² ₃	11 ² ₃	3 ¹	15	17	5	3 B
...	...	8	C in Stewkley <i>M</i>	3 ¹ ₂	9	4	4	4	2	6 ¹ ₂	10	10	5 C
...	...	9	b in Stiuelai <i>M</i>	3 ¹ ₂	9	4	4	4	1 ²	3 ² ₂	9	2	... b
...	...	8	D Drayton Parslow <i>M</i> <i>in Draintone</i>	2 ¹ ₄	8	5	5	2	1 ^u	4 ¹ ₂	8	2	3 D
...	...	1	b in Draitone	10	³ ₄	3	1 ¹ ₂	2 ¹ ₄	2 ¹ ₄	3	...	2	3 ... b
...	...	3	E in Salden <i>M</i>	2 ⁷ ₈	3	1 ¹ ₂	2	1 ¹ ₂ ⁿ	1	2	6	3	2 E
...	...	3	b in Sceldene <i>M</i>	6	3 ¹ ₈	3	2	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂	3	3	2	... b
...	...	5	F Swanbourn (<i>M</i>) <i>in Swenberne</i>	5	5	5	6	2	1 ⁴	...	2	...	... F
...	...	5	b Sueneborne <i>M</i>	4 ¹ ₂	4	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂ ⁿ	1 ¹	1 ¹ ₂	3	...	1 b
...	...	6	c in Soeneberno <i>M</i>	7 ³ ₄	7	5	4	4	2	4	7	5	2 c
...	...	2	d in Sueneberie (<i>M</i>)	2	2	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂	1	1	3	2	... d
...	...	...	e in do. 19 ¹ ₂	¹ ₄	¹ ₄	¹ ₁₀	¹ ₁₀	¹ ₁₀	...	...	...	...	... e
...	100	9	G Horwood <i>M</i> <i>Hereworde</i>	10	9	7	7	7	4	5	8	10	2 G
...	40	3	H Shingleborough (<i>M</i>) <i>Sincleberia</i>	26	6	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	4 H
...	100	10	I Whaddon <i>M</i> <i>Wadone</i>	10	10	8	8	8	5	5	14	9	10 I
...	...	2	K in Mursley <i>MM</i>	5	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	5	2 K
...	...	1	b in Muselai (<i>M</i>)	4	3	1 ¹ ₂	1	1	...	2 ¹	4	2	... b
...	...	...	c in do. 10	1	¹ ₂	¹ ₂	⁷ ₁₀	⁷ ₁₀	...	...	...	...	... c
...	50	2	L in Shenley Brook <i>M</i>	2 ¹ ₂	2	2	2	2	...	2	8	...	2 L
...	50	...	b in Sen(e)lai	2 ¹ ₂	2	2	1 ¹ ₂	1 ¹ ₂	1	1	?	...	... b
				101 ¹ ₂	117	76		68	33	64	110	70	40

D. Ralf Passaquam held it (T.R.W.) of Lewin de Neuham and found two 'loricatos' for the guard of Windsor castle. The Bp of Coutances disseized Ralf and delivered it to Nigel.

	I	L
H		
G		E
	K	D
B	F	A
		C

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Bp of Bayeux ...	Bp of Lisieux ⁿ ... <i>Robert d. Nowers</i>	A Siric man of Earl Lewin S... A
B do. ...	Bp of Lisieux ...	B Siric man of Earl Lewin S... B
b Hugh d. Belchamp	William d. Oreng	b 2 thegns, Levric & Olviet MMS b
c Bp of Coutances ...	William... ..	c Edwin f. Borgret King's thegn c
C do. ...	Eddeva	C Eddeva... .. C
D do. ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	D Borret; a socm. his man $\frac{3}{8}$ h. S D
E do. ...	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>)...	E 10 thegns men of Burgret S E
b C. of Mortain ...	Ivo... ..	b 3 thegns m. of Burgret & Alric S b
c Countess Judith ...	Anschitil	c Ulvric man of Earl Wallef S c
F Walt. Giffard ...	Hugh	F Lewin a King's thegn S ... F
G Will. f. Ansculf ...	Acard	G 5 thegns ⁿ ; 3 h. M; $\frac{1}{2}$; 2 h. M; $\frac{1}{4}$; $1\frac{1}{8}$
b Bp of Coutances ...	Anschitil	b a thegn m. of E. Wallef $2\frac{1}{8}$ h. MS b another thegn $\frac{3}{16}$ <i>hid.</i> S
H do. ...	an Englishman ...	H 2 thegns $\frac{5}{8}$, $\frac{5}{8}$ <i>hid.</i> MMS ... H
b Will. Pevrel ...	Drogo	b Countess Gueth b
I do. ...	Demesne (<i>—hid.</i>)...	I Countess Gueth I
K Winemar Fleming	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>)... (and also 5 <i>caruc.</i>)	K Aldene a King's thegn S ... K
L Bp of Coutances ...	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>)...	L a man of Borret S L
b do. ...	William	b 8 thegns, Alli was 'senior.' S b
c do. ...	Anschitil	c Borgeret & Ulvric his man S c
d do. ...	Three socmen ...	d Borret & Ulvric d
e C. of Mortain ...	Hunfrid	e a man of Alric f. Goding S... e
f Walt. Giffard ...	Ralf	f a man of Bp Wlwi S f
g Chetel King's thegn	... ..	g the same Chetel S g
h Countess Judith ...	Roger	h Hamman man of Alli S ... h
i do. ...	Gilb. d. Blosseville	i Alli a housecarl S... .. i
k do. ...	Ralf	k Turbert man of C ^{ss} Goda S k

A. Robert de Nowers held it of the Bp of Lisieux.

B. One hide '5 pedes minus.'

D. Mill of 11s and 200 eels.

E. 'With them 7 socmen and a frenchman.'

G. Cf p. 136; the thegns were, Harold,

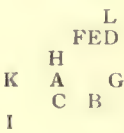
Godwin priest, Estan, Godric man of Harold, and Alveva Harold's wife.

Gb. Of the exchange for Bledon.

I. Mill of 8s and 75 eels.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES		HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUES			TEAMS		MEN				
							1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv		
13 $\frac{1}{8}$	80	4	A Gayhurst [M] ... <i>Gateherst</i>	5	5	4	8	5	5	2	2	10	...	2 A		
...	...	1	B in Lathbury ...	...	1 ⁿ	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	3	...	...	B
...	100	3	b in Late(s)berie M	...	4	3	3	1	4	2	1	4	4	3	b	
...	100	4	c in do. M	10	5	4	3	2	4	2	2	6	6	3	c	
8 $\frac{2}{3}$	40	4	C Linford Pa. [M] <i>Linforde</i>	4	4	4	3	2	2	2	2	6	...	...	C
11 ⁿ	400	10	D Olney ⁿ M... <i>Olnei</i>	10	10	10	12	7	12	3	7	24	5	5	D	
...	200	7	E in Weston Und. M	...	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	6	5	5	1	6	4 ⁿ	3	3	E	
...	20	1	b in Westone ...	...	1 $\frac{1}{6}$	1	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	2	...	b
...	20	$\frac{1}{8}$	c in do. ...	c. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	c
25	300	6	F Ravenston M <i>Ravenston</i>	5	5	6	6	5	5	2	4	10	6	4	F	
...	200	8	G in Tyringham M	...	7 $\frac{5}{16}$	8	8	8	6	3	5	9	6	6	G	
...	...	...	b in Tel(d)lingham ⁿ M <i>v.p. 130</i>	10	2 $\frac{11}{16}$	4	3	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1	3	6	4	b
...	50	1	H in Stoke Gold. ...	...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	...	...	4	...	H
...	200	4	b Stoches MM	...	5	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	4	4	2	2	5	4	2	b	
8 ⁿ	300	9	I Haversham ⁿ M <i>Havresham</i>	10	10	10	7	6	6	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	16	8	5	I	
12	1000	11	K Hanslope M <i>Hammerscle</i>	10	10	26	24	20	24	2 ⁴	18 ²	36	11	8	K	
...	100	1	L Lavendon MM <i>in Lawendene</i>	...	2	4	3	1	2	2	2	4	3	3	L	
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 27	60	4	b in do. ⁿ M	...	4 $\frac{1}{6}$	4	4	1	3	2	2	7	6	3	b	
...	12	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	c in do.	...	1 $\frac{4}{6}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	c
...	8	$\frac{1}{2}$	d in do.	...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	2	...	d
10 ⁿ	40	2	e in do. ⁿ M	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	1	2	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	5	2	e	
...	30	1	f in do.	...	2 $\frac{5}{16}$	2	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	5	8	...	f	
...	10	1	g in do.	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{7}{20}$	$\frac{7}{20}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1	...	g
...	30	2	h in Lavendene (M)	...	2 $\frac{5}{16}$	2	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	3	2	...	h	
...	20	3	i in do. (M)	...	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	1	1	1	0	0	...	4	...	i	
...	15	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	k in do. (M) c.	20	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1	3	...	k
					98 $\frac{1}{3}$	115	111				96	38	64	160	99	53

Lb. From mill 27s and 250 eels. One of the thegns T.R.E. was 'senior aliorum.'
Le. From mill 10s and 50 eels.



TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Bp of Coutances ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	A { Edwin f. Borret 6 <i>hid.</i> M ... A Alwin m. of Edwin 1 <i>hid.</i> M S Osulf man of King 3 <i>hid.</i> M S
B Bp of Lisieux ...	Robert	B Blacheman man of E. Tosti S B
b Bp of Bayeux ...	Turstin	b Alwin man of Estan S ... b
c Earl Hugh	William	c Earl Tosti c
d Walt. Giffard ...	Ralf	d Godwin m. of Bp Wlwi 2 h. M d 3 thegns 3 <i>hid.</i> S
e do.	Robert	e Godwin m. of Bp Wlwi 2 h. M e 5 thegns 2 <i>hid.</i> S
C Miles Crispin ...	Almar d. Odon ...	C Ordwi m. of Wigot d. Walingf ^d C (Alwin 2 h. M ; Ulf m. of Asgar
D Walt. Giffard ...	Richard	D 2 h. M ; Algar m. of Edward D cilt 1½ h. M ; 5 others 4½ h. S
E do.	Hugh	E Oswi m. of Alric f. Goding S E
b Countess Judith ...	Morcar	b the same Morcar S b
F C. of Mortain ...	Ralf	F Golnil a housecarl S F
b do.	Walter	b Brictuin man of Earl Harold S b
c do.	Hunfrid	c Chentis m. of Levnot f. Osm ^d S c
d Hugh d. Bolbec ...	Ansel	d Suen man of Harold S ... d
e Lewin Chava a K's	thegn	e the same Lewin ⁿ S e
f Lewin d. Newham	Godwin priest ...	f the same Godwin S f
G Walter Fleming ...	Fulcuin	G Sueninc man of Earl Harold S G
H Walt. Giffard ...	Hugh	H a man of Alric f. Goding S... H
b Countess Judith ...	Morcar	b the same Morcar S b
c Hugh d. Bolbec ...	(? Demesne) ...	c Ulgrim man of Earl Lewin S c
d Will. f. Ansculf ...	Hervey	d Godwin man of Ulf S... .. d
e do.	Baldwin	e 3 bros. m. of Tochi & Baldwin S e
f do.	Pagan	f Godric man of Oswi S ... f
I do.	Wibert	I 2 thegns, Harold and Alwi S I
K do.	Baldwin	K the same Baldwin S K
b do.	Andrew	b Edestan m. of Alnod Chentis(h)S b
c do.	Pagan	c 9 thegns S c
L do.	Demesne (2 <i>caruc.</i>) from 5 <i>socmen</i> 27s...	L Ulf, K's thegn; 5 thegns 7/8 <i>hid.</i> S L
M Bp of Coutances ...	Morcar	M Alli a King's thegn S M
b do.	Turbert	b Wlwin S b
c Rob. d. Toden ...	Will. and Roger ?...	c ? Sivert and Turbert c
d do. [Will. d.	Boscroard and bro.	d Osulf, K's thegn S; his man 1/4 h. S d
e Css. Judith	Nigel	e Alvic man of Bp. Wlwi S... e
f do.	Roger d. Olney ...	f 2 thegns m. of Godric f. Goding S f
N do.	Roger	N Alric man of Bp Wlwi S ... N
b Bp of Coutances ...	Godric and Ulric ...	b same two; 1 <i>hid.</i> S, 2 <i>hid.</i> M S b
O Walter f. Other ...	Ralf	O Oswi man of Alric S O
P Godric Cratel a K's	thegn	P Queen Edith P
b Will. f. Ansculf ...	Osbert	b Sawold m. of Ulward cilt S b
c Walt. Giffard ...	Hugh	c Oswi man of Alric S c

Fe. Lewin was *præfectus regis*.
I. Silva 150 porc. et 15*d.*

M. 'Of the exchange for Bledon as
the Bishop's men say.'
Me. From a fishery 125 eels.

Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead car.	MODERN NAMES		HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUES			TEAMS		MEN			
			DOMESDAY NAMES				1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv	
26	100	4	A Sherrington M ...	10	10	11	10	7	10	4	6 ¹	22	6	8 A	
			<i>Serintone</i>												
...	150	4	B in Brickhill (M)	...	5	4	4	4	4	1	3	7	3	1 B	
...	...	...	b in Brichella (M)	...	1	1	1	$\frac{7}{10}$	$\frac{7}{10}$	...	...	3	2	... b
² 30	100	10	c Brichella (M) ...	...	9	9	10	7	9	4	6	16	6	6 c
...	...	5	d in Brichelle MM	...	5	5	5	2	3	2	3	8	2	2 d	
10	100	5	e in do. MM	...	4	5	5	5	5	3	2	9	5	3 e	
...	...	1	C in this hund. ...	25	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	3	2	... C	
...	100	5	D Moulsoe M ...	10	10	7	8	5	6	1	6	7	9	1 D	
			<i>Molcshou</i>												
¹ —	...	3	E in Broughton MM	...	4	5	4	3	3	1	4	8	5	2 E	
...	...	1	b in Brolone M ...	5	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	1	1	... b	
...	15	2	F in Wavendon M	...	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	3	1 F	
...	15	2	b in Wavendone M	...	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	3	2 b	
...	...	1	c in do.	...	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	1	...	... c
...	...	3	d in do. M	...	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	3	3	2	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	3	... d
...	50	1	e in do.	...	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	5	1 e	
...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	f in do.	...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	...	...	3	...	... f
...	...	1	G in this hund. M	10	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1	...	... G
...	50	1	H in Hardmead MM	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	2	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	2	... H	
...	50	1	b in Herulfmede ...	...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	3	1	... b
...	5	$\frac{1}{4}$	c in Heru(o)lsmede	...	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	...	...	...	...	... c
...	24	...	d in Herouldmede M	...	7 $\frac{7}{8}$	1	1	$\frac{3}{5}$	$\frac{3}{5}$	...	1	2	2	1 d
...	...	...	e in do. M	...	1	1	1	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	...	1	3	...	... e
...	5	$\frac{1}{4}$	f in do.	...	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	...	... f
20	150 ⁿ	3	I in this hund. M...	9 $\frac{7}{8}$	4	4	4	2	2	1	3	7	6	1 I	
...	100	1	K in Chicheley M	...	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	5	4	1 K	
...	100	2	b in Cicelai M	...	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	7	4	2 b	
...	...	4	c in do. M	...	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	4	5	3	1	3	5	6	... c
...	50	5	L Tickford ⁿ M	...	5	5	8	6	6	5	2	6	6 ⁿ	...	4 L
			<i>Ticheforde</i>												
¹ —	...	2	M in Clifton ⁿ Reyn. (M)	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	1	1	...	2	6	4	1 M	
...	20	1	b in Clyftone ...	...	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	1	3	1 b
...	...	...	c in Cliftone ...	...	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	... c
¹ ₂ 11	400	4	d in do. MM	...	4	4	6	5	5	2	2	6	7	3 d	
...	20	2	e in do. ⁿ (M)	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	2	4	1 e
...	10	1	f in do.	9 $\frac{7}{8}$	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	...	2	... f
...	60	2	N in Emberton M	...	3	3	3	2	3	2	1	6	3	... N	
...	50	2	b in Ambre(i)lone (M)	...	3	2	4	2	2	2	...	2	2	... b	
...	100	2	O in this hund. M	...	10	4	6	4	5	3	2	4	9	7	2 O
6 $\frac{2}{3}$	...	8	P in Milton Keynes M...	...	8 $\frac{1}{3}$	10	8	5	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	18	6	6 P
...	...	1	b in Midvelltone	...	1	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	1	5	1 b
...	...	1	c in Midletone	...	10	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$...	$\frac{1}{5}$	0	0 c
					114 $\frac{1}{2}$	121	112	87	38	74	187	127	51		

M N A H K cont. L D E P F B

TENANT IN CHIEF 1086	UNDERTENANT 1086	SAXON HOLDER 1065
A Bp of Coutances ...	Demesne ?	A Eddeva S A
B do. 'de' W. Bon -vaslet in pledge...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	B Queen Edith S B
b Lewin Oaura King's	thegn	b the same Lewin b
C Earl Hugh	Hugh	C Burcard a housecarl S... .. C
b do.	Hugh	b Burchard a King's thegn ... b
D Martin	Demesne ?	D Azor f. Toti a King's thegn D
b C. of Mortain ...	Ralf	b { 8 thegns S; 4? m. of Alvríc Varu, 1 of Alric f. Goding, Ulward f. Ed- deva, Lewin f. Estan, 3 other lords b
E do. ...	Alvered... ..	E 4 thegns S E
b Suarting K's thegn	Demesne (1½ <i>hid.</i>)	b Gonni m. of Alric f. Goding S b
c Will. f. Ansculf ...	(?Dem.) <i>knt</i> ½ <i>h.</i> ½ <i>c.</i>	c 2 men of Ulf S c
F do. ...	Demesne (4 <i>caruc.</i>)	F Ulf a King's thegn S F
G do. ...	(? Demesne)	G Ulf a King's thegn S G
b Walt. Giffard ...	Ralf	b Edward a King's thegn S ... b
c do. ...	Monks of St Peter's de la Couture (Le Mans)	c Alric f. Goding S... .. c
H do. ...	Demesne (4 <i>hid.</i>)...	H Edward cilt H
I do. ...	Ivo... ..	I 5 thegns S I
b C. of Mortain ...	Walter	b Elmer m. of Alric f. Goding S b
c Mano Breton ...	Two knights...	c Alric a King's thegn c
K do. ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	K 1 thegn 5½ <i>h.</i> for a manor S; K 7 other thegns S
L do. ...	Demesne (9 <i>hid.</i>)...	L 3 thegns, men of Harold 10 <i>h.</i> , L of King 7½ <i>h.</i> , of Queen 2½ <i>h.</i> S
M Miles Crispin ...	Ralf	M Bisi a King's thegn S M
N do. ...	William... ..	N 2 thegns m. of Alric f. Goding S N
b Walt. Giffard ...	Walter Achet ...	b Alviet man of Q. Edith S ... b
c Will. f. Ansculf ...	(? Demesne)...	c Alward man of Goding S ... c
O do. ...	Robert	O Grimbald man of Bisi S ... O
b C. of Mortain ...	Ralf	b 2 men of Alric f. Goding S... b
c Walt. Giffard ...	Hugh	c Alric f. Goding S... .. c
d Hugh d. Bolbec ...	(? Demesne)	d 3 thegns S d
P do. ...	Demesne (3 <i>hid.</i>)...	P Bisi a King's thegn; a man... P of Queen Edith 2 <i>hid.</i> M. S

E. Two 'vavassores' paying 32s.
6*d.*; mill of 5 ores and 4*d.*; de
consuetudine 28*d.*

M. Mill of 11*s.* 8*d.* and 50 eels.

F. Silva 300 porc. et 2*s.* Burgesses and others
'extra 5 *hid.* laborantes' 6½ teams; 4*s.* from
men who 'manent in silva;' 'in aliis redit-
tibus 116*s.* 4*d.*'

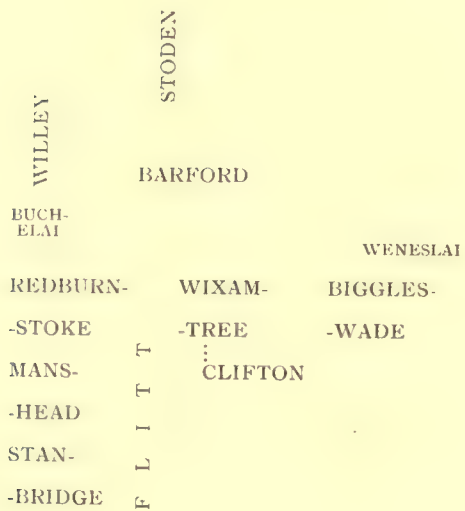
Mills shill.	Wood pigs	Mead ac.	MODERN NAMES		HIDES	TEAM LANDS	£ VALUE			TEAMS		MEN				
			DOMESDAY NAMES				1065	Q.R.	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv		
20	...	12	A Water Eaton [M]	10	10	18	10	8	12	4	14	35	6	12 A		
			<i>Elone</i>													
10	...	8	B Simpson M	...	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	8	8	1	6	3	5	13	2	6 B		
			<i>Sevinstone</i>													
...	...	1	b in <i>Suivnestone</i>	...	10	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	2	...	b	
...	50	5	C Church Shenley (M)	...	22	10	6	5	5	3	5 ²	5	...	6 C		
...	50	5	b in <i>Senelai</i> M	...	7	5	5	4	3	3	4 ¹	8	...	...	b
...	...	2	D Woughton M	...	...	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	6	5	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	6	3	4 D
			<i>in Wlchelone</i>													
...	...	4	b in <i>do.</i> M	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	4	3	4	3	1 ¹	1 ¹	3	6	2	b	
— ⁿ	24	2	E in <i>Caldecot</i> ⁿ M	...	...	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	4	4	4	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 ⁿ	5	1 E
...	...	1	b in <i>Caldecote</i>	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	1	1 ¹	2	...	b
8	100	1	c in <i>do.</i> (M)	10	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	2	2	2	1 ¹	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	c
^u 40	300 ⁿ	9	F Newport ⁿ Pag. M	5	5	9	24	20	20	4	5 ⁿ	5	...	9 F		
			<i>Neuport</i>													
...	...	...	G in <i>Woolston</i> (M)	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	2 G	
10	...	2	b in <i>Wlsiestone</i> M	...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	3	1	2	2	1	4	...	...	b
6 $\frac{1}{3}$	100	4	c in <i>do.</i> v.p.130 M	10	5	5	4	3	3	2	3	8	1	...	c	
...	...	6	H Newton Long. M	10	10	12	10	10	12	4	8	20	8	11 H		
			<i>Neutone v.p.130</i>													
...	...	4	I in <i>Loughton</i> (M)	...	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	2	...	I	
...	b in <i>Lochintone</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$...	1	b
...	...	5	c in <i>do.</i> M	...	10	5	5	4	3	3	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	2	1	c
8	...	6	K Stoke Hammond M	...	10	10	10	10	10	3	6 ¹	12	4	6 K		
			<i>Stoches</i>													
^u 32 $\frac{2}{3}$	...	9	L Wolverton M	...	...	20	20	20	15	20	5	10 ⁵	32	8	10 L
			<i>Wlverintone</i>													
10 $\frac{2}{3}$ ⁿ	...	4	M Stanton ⁿ M	...	...	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	5	6	2	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	3	4 M
			<i>Stantone</i>													
...	...	2	N in <i>Bradwell</i> (M)	...	...	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	3	3	1	2	2	0 ¹	5	...	2 N
...	...	1	b in <i>Bradewelle v.p.130</i>	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 ¹	1	1	b
...	...	1	c in <i>do.</i>	...	5	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	1	2	1	c
...	O in <i>Linford Magna</i>	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	1	O
...	...	2	b in <i>Linforde</i>	2	2	2	2	2	...	2	4	3	1	b
...	...	4	c in <i>do.</i> v.p.130MM	2 $\frac{3}{8}$	5	4	2	3	1	4	16	2	4	c
...	...	1	d in <i>do.</i> MM	7	...	2 $\frac{3}{8}$	2	2	1	1	1	1	5	2	...	d
13 $\frac{1}{3}$	...	5	P Calverton M	...	...	10	10	12	10	10	3	28	18	8	9 P
			<i>Calvretone</i>													
						138 $\frac{1}{2}$	159	157	142	53	90	225	72	92		

T L M OFE
N G
I D
B

contd. (B)
C
A
K

BEDFORDSHIRE

Diagram of the hundreds.



NOTE ON THE TABLES FOR BEDFORDSHIRE

The tables for this county are derived almost entirely from a table made by the Rev. F. W. Ragg, which he has kindly placed at my disposal. As he finds that both hundreds and villages follow one another in the same order in different fiefs, it is plain that the original return was drawn up by hundreds and vills like the Cambridge Inquisition. He has tried to reconstruct the original order of the vills in each hundred and the vills are given in the tables in the order he has arrived at.¹ For hundreds in which many of the vills are divided between different owners it is possible to make pretty sure of arranging the vills approximately in the same order in which they were arranged by the original return ; where there is less division there is less evidence in Domesday and he has often had to fall back on geography. As the total teamlands, teams, values and men of each vill have been tabulated by the Rev. William Airy² it has not seemed necessary to tabulate those details here, but as his table is arranged alphabetically instead of by hundreds, I have given an analysis to show the distribution between the hundreds of the figures given by him for teamlands, values and men.

The socmen and other small holders of 1065 are an interesting feature of this county and the chief object of the tables given here is to show the distribution of the land before the conquest. There were more than 600 'socmen' in 1065 and some 150 'thegns' and 'men' with less, generally much less than 2 hides, while only some 100 socmen are mentioned by Domesday in 1086. Nearly all the socmen of 1065 'could sell' their land, and the same phrase is attached to the great majority of other Saxon holders and obviously might have been attached to at least most of the rest. The phrase is so nearly universal that it has not been noticed in the tables and only those socmen are marked (by *L*) who could *not* sell without licence. In the south-western corner of the county, in the hundreds of Stanbridge and Manshead, good sized estates prevailed even in 1065, but through the greater part of Bedfordshire, not only north of the Ouse, but also in the south-east, many of the vills were even in 1086 much subdivided and in 1065 comparatively small holders predominated very largely, if we count among them the numerous socmen who then held or shared many of the vills which in 1086 appear as single manors. We found a like feature in the adjoining county of Hertford (pp. 99, 100), the north-eastern half of which had in 1065 a number of socmen and many comparatively small holdings, while the south-western half had few socmen and was mainly occupied by large manors, the dividing line between the

¹ For convenience of grouping I have slightly altered his order in a few of the cases in which it is conjectural, and I am alone responsible for the *M*, *M*, (*M*) and for the arrangement of Stoden

and Wiley hundreds.

² At the end of his Digest of Domesday for Bedfordshire, published by Messrs. R. Hill & Co. Bedford.

two sections being the river Lea. On the other side of Bedfordshire there is again a similar difference in Bucks between the northern end containing the hundreds of Bonestou and Sigelai, in which most of the vills were subdivided, and the rest of the county (p. 137). The dividing line there is Watling Street. Of the villages in Sigelai hundred south of that road—Calverton, Shenley, Newton Longueville, Water Eaton, Stoke Hammond—all but the last were, unlike the rest of the hundred, each in a single hand even in 1065. Going on into Northants we find something of the same kind. There were many socmen in that county even in 1086; Ellis counted more than 1000 of them. Though most plentiful in the north, they come right down to the hundreds of Wimersley on the east¹ and of Guilsborough and Nobottle on the west,² immediately adjoining Watling Street. The socmen of 1065 are not recorded in Northants, but in 1086 I have not noticed any socman in the manors south and south-west of Watling Street except at Norton, which is all but on the line and was moreover a royal manor.

Now in Herts the boundary fixed by the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum of c.886 was "up the Lea to its source" near Dunstable. Dunstable was on Watling Street, but the great road was not the dividing line between them in Bedfordshire. From the source of the Lea near Dunstable the boundary ran "straight on [north] to Bedford and then up along the Ouse to Watling Street," first north to Sharnbrook and then south-west to Stony Stratford. In 1065 we find the piece of Bedfordshire which is enclosed, with the Bucks hundred of Sigelai, between Watling Street and the great bend of the Ouse above Bedford past Sharnbrook to Olney and Stony Stratford mainly occupied by subdivided vills. But up it a peninsula of good-sized manors,³ which is about 15 miles long and 3 to 6 wide, extends due north from Watling Street between Dunstable and Hockliffe, along the higher ground between the head-waters of the Ivel and the valleys of the Ouse and the Ousel, to Kempston near Bedford, and it may be that this peninsula is some kind of survival of the bend in the old Saxon and Danish boundary. The fact that the boundary is continued beyond Sharnbrook up the Ouse south-west to Stony Stratford would appear to imply that Guthrum retained some of the country on the left or north-western bank between Sharnbrook and Stony Stratford. The boundary in the treaty stops at Stony Stratford, but the final words "to Watling Street" suggest, if they do not assume, that from Stony Stratford Watling Street was the boundary between Alfred and the Danes (whether of East Anglia or of the five boroughs of Danish Mercia) for at least some little distance—say through Northants and perhaps also where the road divides Warwickshire from Leicestershire as far as Atherstone or Tamworth. Considering how nearly the whole of the south-western boundary of the country of comparatively small holdings T.R.E. corresponded to that between Alfred and Guthrum these small holdings would

¹ E.g. Hardingstone and Quinton 228 b 1.

² E.g. Lilbourne 224 a 2, Crick 227 b 1, Floore 225 b 2, all on Watling Street.

³ Houghton Regis, Chalgrave, Toddington, Steppingley, Segenhoe (Ridgmont), half Crawley, Aspley, Salford, Hilecott, Millbrook, Lidlington, Cranfield, Wooton, Kempston, in the hundreds of Manshead and Redbornstoke; the only

subdivided vill amongst them is Eversholt. The eastern edge of this peninsular is roughly a line drawn from Dunstable to Kempston, but curving westward so as to exclude Tingrith and Marston Mortain; the western boundary goes from Hockliffe east of Milton Bryant and Woburn, and then along the county boundary to Kempston.

appear to be connected with the Danes, but exactly what part the Danes played in the matter is not altogether clear. It would be natural to suppose that the many socmen were Danish, but it is easy to see in the table that the vills held in 1065 by groups of socmen did not have Danish names. Practically none of the place-names in the county are Danish and when small holders of a hide or less are named by Domesday their names are not generally Danish. All this points to the mass of the population being Saxon or Angle and makes it doubtful whether even the socmen were mainly Danes, or at least suggests that in many cases they had Saxons under them.

The hundreds follow one another with slight exceptions in the following order—Stanbridge, Manshead, Redburnstoke, Flitt,¹ Stoden, Buchelai, Wiley, Barford, Biggleswade, Weneslai, Wixamtree, Clifton. In the demesne manors of Hugh de Beauchamp the compiler has begun in the middle of the original return with Stoden, then after Clifton he has gone back to Redburnstoke and Flitt. The lands held of Hugh by others follow in a separate series from Manshead to Clifton. Between the two series, i.e. between Flitt and Manshead, is inserted Salchou in Barford, apparently because it was an exceptional tenancy being held of Hugh by 11 socmen. Stanbridge precedes Manshead in the lands of the Bishop of Bayeux; the order is reversed on f 216 a 2 and f 217 a 1, but there are only two rubrics in each case and perhaps the compiler was working backwards. In a similar case on f 216 b 2 Wiley follows Clifton. The entry at the top of f 218 a 1 rubricated Stoden seems like Salchou to be exceptional. There is no indication of hundreds (except Flitt) in the King's land and there are several cases of omission. There should have been rubrics

on f 211 a 1 of Stoden for Bolnhurst.

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 211 b 1 | Clifton for 'Cudesane' and Campton. |
| 212 a 2 | Barford for Eaton, Wyboston and Chawston. |
| 212 b 2 | Barford for 'Chainhalle' and Goldington. |
| 213 a 2 | Flitt for Gravenhurst, Streatley and Higham. |
| 214 a 1 | Redburnstoke for Westcote. |
| 214 b 1 | Stoden for Milton (Ernest). |
| 214 b 2 | Buchelai for Bidenham. |
| 215 a 2 | Stoden for Oakley. |
| 216 b 1 | Wiley for Hinwick. |

Weston[ing] is surveyed in Herts (132 b 1) because it had been attached to the great manor of Hitchin, but as even in 1086 it still "payed its geld (*wara*)" in Beds, it must have originally belonged to Beds, not to Herts; it returns to Beds in the Testa de Neville (p. 243). Part of Meppershall² belonged to Herts in 1086 and also $\frac{1}{2}$ hide at Polehanger which adjoins it, but they seem likely to have been once in Beds.

The 5-hide system is very plain all through the county. As long ago as 1828 an analysis of the hides in Bedfordshire village by village was given in the Gentleman's Magazine; it is quoted in his history of Bucks

¹ That Flitt came before Stoden seems to be shown by the position of Gravenhurst, Streatley and Higham before Stoden on 213 a 2, though the actual rubric is there missing, and this order is, I think, confirmed by the position of Flitt in the previous column, the fief having begun with

Stoden. In V. H. i. 217 Flitt is placed after Buchelai, but I do not understand and Mr. Ragg is unable to recall, the reason for that order, which is inconsistent with p. 239 n 1, where Gravenhurst &c. are assigned to Flitt.

² D.B. 142 a 1, 216 b 2; see p. 98 above.

by Lipscomb.¹ In this list the 5 and 10 hide ratings and approximations to them are nearly as conspicuous as they are in the tables given here. It is curious that they did not attract the attention either of the author or of Lipscomb; nor was the paper even noticed, so far as I know, by Ellis or Eyton or anyone else and the discovery of the 5-hide unit was left to be made fifty years later by Mr. Round and Professor Maitland.

The hundreds work out thus, the order in which they are given being that of the original return:

Stanbridge ($\frac{1}{2}$)	115 $\frac{1}{4}$	say	115 ²	Wiley	104 $\frac{5}{8}$	say	105
Manshead	135 $\frac{1}{4}$		135	Barford	105 $\frac{1}{8}$		105
Redbornstoke	114 $\frac{1}{4}$		115	Biggleswade	99 $\frac{5}{8}$		100
Flitt	128 $\frac{1}{2}$		130	Weneslai ($\frac{1}{2}$)	49 $\frac{1}{2}$		50
Stoden	99 $\frac{1}{2}$		100	Wixamtree	109 $\frac{3}{8}$		110
Buchelai ($\frac{1}{2}$)	53		55	Clifton	100		100
					1214 $\frac{5}{8}$		1220
132 b 1	Weston(ing) gelding in Beds [Manshead]						5
142 a 1 ?	Part of Meppershall gelding in Herts [Clifton]						? 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
137 b 2 ?	Polehanger						? $\frac{1}{2}$
							1225-30

Including Westoning and the whole of Meppershall the corrected total seems to be 1225-30.³ This is 25-30 hides more than the 1200 given to Bedfordshire by the County Hidage. But on the other hand that list gives Hunts 850 hides, though only 820-5 are to be found there in 1086. The joint total of 1230+820 is the same as that of 1200+850 in the County Hidage, and it looks as if the odd 30 hides of Beds in 1086 may have been taken from Hunts; the two counties are much interlaced near Tilbrook and Keysoe, though the totals for the northern hundreds of Beds—Stoden, Buchelai, Wiley, Barford—do not show any obvious trace of enlargement. It must be said that Huntingdon is included, as 50 hides, in these figures and Bedford excluded; but we are told of Bedford that its 'land except one hide'⁴ had never been assessed in hides.

Hides 'in demesne' are as a rule given to all estates held 'in demesne' (i.e. not held by an under-tenant) if as large as 4 hides and sometimes to smaller ones. The exceptions noticed are; (1) Toddington and Chalgrave in Manshead and Clapham in Stoden, each of which has 'carucates' in the demesne 'besides the hides' assigned to the estate generally;⁵ (2) Arsley held by the Bishop of Durham and Stratton by Ralf de Insula; (3) Keysoe and Houghton held by Hugh de Beauchamp, Harlington by Nigel de Albini, each of 5 hides, and 4 hides in Dene by the Bishop of

¹ Hist. of Bucks, Vol. I (1831) p. 4; Gent. Mag. Vol. 98, pt 2, p. 100. The paper, by "C.C." of Biggleswade, is directed to shew that each hundred ought to have had 100 hides; it is not included by Mr. Gomme in his reprint of the magazine's topography.

² Stanbridge is called a half-hundred. The 115 hides include 50 of the king's land at Leighton and Sewell; the latter is said to have been T. R. E. "in Odecrost hundred" (? half-hundred), which may also have contained Leighton.

³ Mr. Corbett also counts 1215 but only cor-

rects to 1220 without Westoning, Meppershall and Polehanger. As to these see p. 98 above.

⁴ "Huntedun defendebat se ad geldum regis pro 50 hidis," but "Bedeford T.R.E. pro dimidio hundredo se defendebat et modo facit in expeditione et in navibus. Terra de hac villa nunquam fuit hidata nec modo est praeter unam hidam quae jacuit in ecclesia S. Pauli." Apparently Bedford was responsible as half a hundred on special occasions, but not for the ordinary geld.

⁵ There are also in Stoden 1 'carucate in demesne' at Bolnhurst and 2 at 'Estone.'

Coutances. In this county no estate held by an under-tenant has been noticed with hides 'in demesne' (see pp. 133-4).

The number of teamlands in each vill is generally about the same as the number of hides or rather more, sometimes half as many more; it is seldom much less. In the county as a whole there are some 360-80 more teamlands than hides, but of this excess more than 300 are accounted for by only 25 vills. Nearly half of these 300 are in six vills—Leighton, Luton and Houghton held by the King, Wilden by the Bishop of Bayeux, Stevenon by Count Eustace and Clapham by Miles Crispin, the last two having 54 teamlands for only 8 hides.¹

The manorial rubric is very conspicuous in Beds. It is attached both to entries of 'A. holds Blackham' and of 'in Whiteham &c.,' but seems to have been not infrequently forgotten, for it is missing in a dozen entries of 5 hides or upwards and in some others where it might fairly be expected. It is common enough to find an estate which is marked as a 'manor' at the beginning of the entry spoken of later as 'this land;' but there seems no need to attach much importance to this variation.² On the other hand it is common, as in Bucks, to find an estate spoken of as a 'manor' in the T.R.E. part of the entry, though it is not marked as such at the beginning—there are some 20 cases. Besides the manorial rubric there are some 25 estates which are said to be held 'for a manor,' all of them being described as "in —"; with 5 exceptions they have also the *M* rubric. It appears probable that in the margin of the original return for this county, as for Bucks, a mark was set against estates which were technically 'manors;' the mark against vills all in one manor being an *M*, but that against manors covering only part of a vill '*p.i.M.*' meaning held '*pro uno manerio.*' As to these rubrics the compiler of Domesday for Beds would seem to have taken a slightly different course from that followed in Bucks, for he apparently intended to represent both rubrics by *M*. Occasionally, however, he copied the '*pro 1 Manerio*' into the text by mistake, and he sometimes forgot the *M* rubric (p. 141).

Mr. Ragg's table contains the number of swine for which there was pannage in each vill, but I have not been able to make room for this item. The proportion of pannage *per 100 hides* in each of nine hundreds is very roughly as follows:

Stanbridge	for 800	Flitt	for 1200 ³	Wiley	for 800
Manshead	„ 1200	Stoden	„ 2000	Barford	„ 800
Redbornstoke	„ 2700 ⁴	Buchelai	„ 1000	Wixamtree	„ 1000

On the other hand no 'wood' at all is mentioned in Biggleswade or Weneslai except for 60 swine at Dunton, for 16 at Langford, for 4 + 4 at Hatley and '3 acres' at Sandy. It looks odd that there should be practically no 'wood' in these two hundreds and there may have been a mistake in the preparation of the original returns (p. 133); but in Clifton which adjoins them pannage is only given for 275 swine and in half its vills none at all.

¹ Airy's table; Maitland, D.B. and B. p. 400.

² E.g. *M. Will. de Warene tenet Tilebroc* (5 hides); *hanc terram de Tilebroc reclamant H. de B., 211 b 2; M. H. de Belcamp tenet Welitone* (10 hides) ... *hoc Manerium tenuit Aschil* ... *de hac terra* (8 sochemanni) 7 hides

tenuerunt, 213 a 1, cf. Etone 212 a 2; *M. H. de B. tenet Salchou* (5 hides) ... *hanc terram tenent 11 sochemanni*. See the note to Bucks p. 139 above.

³ Also for 1000 at Cranfield (10 hid. 12 car.).

⁴ Also for 500 at Haynes (5 hid. 8 car.), and 2000 at the royal Luton (30 hid. 82 car.).

There seems to be a connection in Bedfordshire between small holdings before the conquest and the bordars of 1086. In the hundred of Stanbridge which even in 1065 consisted mainly of large estates, there were in 1086 only 65 bordars against 165 villeins; but in Wiley which in 1065 was much subdivided we find 160 bordars against 110 villeins. The hundred of Redbornstoke was in 1065 pretty equally divided between large and small estates; the larger ones—Wootton, Cranfield, Segenhoe, Millbrook, Stepingley and Maulden—had only 10 bordars against 95 villeins; while Marston cum Shelton, Houghton Conquest, Kempston, and Willshamstead cum Elstow cum Westcot, which in 1065 were much subdivided, have 81 bordars against 89 villeins. These are rather extreme cases; but though there are a good many exceptions—Lidlington and Ampthill are exceptions, one each way, in Redbornstoke,—there seems to be a tendency all through the county towards many bordars in 1086 where there had been comparatively small holdings in 1065. We find a like feature in Herts (p. 99), where Edwinstree and Braughing, which had the majority of the socmen of 1065, are the hundreds which have the largest proportion of bordars in 1086. It looks as if these extra bordars may have represented small men who in 1065 farmed under the holders of 1 to 2 hides and under the larger socmen with $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 hide, these holdings having been partly broken up and the sub-tenants treated as bordars of the lord's manor; though the smaller socmen seem as a rule to have lost their status as freemen, their holdings were generally large enough, if kept intact, to make them rank as 'villani' not as bordars. It seems possible that the curious increase of bordars in Essex after the conquest¹ may be partly due to the men under the smaller holders of 1065 being neglected in the T.R.E. figures, but appearing as bordars in 1086.

We may notice that in Beds the phrase '*jacet in*' (Blackham) appears to be used in two senses. On f 217 a 1 we have $1\frac{1}{2}$ virg. 'in Warden in Wixamtree Hd.—*jacet in* Biggleswade.' The land was not locally in Biggleswade and had not originally belonged to that manor or vill, but had been attached to it later. This is the common use of the phrase in Domesday. So also at Streatley on f 218 b 1; and again on f 217 b 2 the manors 'in Hatley' and Everton both 'lay in Potton,'² that is to say they had been attached to Potton. On the other hand on f 212 b 2 Hugh de Beauchamp has 'in Chainhalle' $\frac{1}{2}$ hide '*quae jacet in Putnoe*,' and 'in Goldington' "3 hid. and 1 virg. *quae jacet in Putnoe*." The figures appear to show that both the $\frac{1}{2}$ hid. and the 1 virg. (only) were locally in Putnoe, but attached to Chainhalle and Goldington, for Chainhalle has a neat 5 hides to itself and 3 hides make up with the 7 hides given to Goldington in other entries a round 10 hides. So too in Hunts (f 203) a $2\frac{1}{8}$ hide 'jacet in Estone' locally, not by tenure. That 'in Chainhalle tenet $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.' may refer to tenure not to locality is confirmed by (217 b 1) "in Potone tenet Hugo (of Judith) $\frac{1}{2}$ virg." This $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate was not locally in Potton, for the position of the entry before the Biggleswade rubric proves

¹ Maitland, D.B. and B. p. 363.

² At Hatley (which comes first) '*jacet*' looks as if it may be a slip for '*jacuit*' which is used at Everton. It is not clear if these two entries were 'in Potton' in 1086, when they are marked as 'manors'; cf. 217 b 2, "M[anor]. Adeliz

[de Grentmesnil] tenet Cherlentine (10 hid)—Haec terra fuit berewica in Potone T.R.E. manerio Juditae." As to Esseltone (3 hid. 216 b 2) it was a member of Wootton in 1086, but it is not clear that it was *then* a 'manor'; it is not so rubricated.

that the $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate was given by the original return as in the hundred of Barford, probably in Great Barford. Potton which has a round 10 hides is entered a little below under the hundred of Weneslai, which is separated from Barford in the regular order and in this very column by the hundred of Biggleswade.

SUMMARY OF THE HUNDREDS.

HUNDREDS	HIDES	TEAM LANDS	VALUES			MEN		
			1065	Q.R.	1086	vill.	bord.	serv.
Stanbridge	115 ¹	123	{ ? 53 ¹ 20 ³	{ ? 25 20	{ 48 ² 27 16	165 ¹	66	19
Manshead	135	187	{ 160 30 ⁴	{ 100 ?	{ 102 ?	178 38	103 12	73
Redbornstoke	115	155	177	96	112	213	114	59
Flitt	{ 100 30 ⁵	{ 140 82	{ 134 70 ⁵	{ 75 ?	{ 95 ?	163 91	93 51	60 3
Stoden	100	150	{ 72 12 ⁶	{ 65 24	{ 73 24	150	141	37
Buchelai	55	81	81	60	58	101	53	25
Wiley	100 ¹	143	143	100	90	111	160	48
Barford	105	122	120	62	94	180	96	33
Biggleswade	100 ¹	120	105	90	114	132	67	40
Weneslai	50	58	46	33	44	66	55	6
Wixamtree	110	118	100	64	80	150	84	43
Clifton	105	100	110	78	100	137	58 [*]	33
	1220 ¹	1579	1480 ¹		1180 ¹	1875 ¹	1153	479
Other counts ⁷	1193	1557	1475		1096	1937	1132	474

¹ The hides are the corrected figures—for Wiley and Biggleswade the lowest correction—the other figures are calculated from Mr. Airy's table. The 'villeins' include socmen, of which Ellis counted 107; Mr. Airy therefore counted fewer villeins than Ellis. The values are only approximate, as I have rounded off many fractions and the county totals include estimates for Leighton, Houghton and Luton. In one or two cases Mr. Airy joined together places which in 1086 were in different hundreds, but I have tried to separate them. The "Wrestlingworth" of his table is omitted; it is really Wratworth near Orwel in Cambridgeshire.

² Leighton. ³ Eaton Bray. ⁴ Houghton Regis. ⁵ Luton. ⁶ Clapham. ⁷ Maitland, D.B. and B. 400; Pearson and Ellis.

For a diagram of the hundreds see p. 172.

180 BEDFORD HUNDRED OF BEREFORDE (BARFORD)

TENANT IN CHIEF	UNDERTENANT	HIDES H. V.	SAXON HOLDER 1065
	SALCHOU ... 5		SALPH(O) END
H. d. Beauchamp	11 socmen ... M	5 ...	11 socmen
	SUBBERIE ¹		SUDBURY IN EATON
Rich. f. Gilbert ...	Ch. of St. Neot... ..	1 ¹	Church of St. Neot
	ETONE 20		EATON SOCON
Eudo f. Hubert ...	Dem. (7½ h.) 2 socmen M	20 ...	Ulmar d. Et. K's th.; 2 socmen...
WI	BOLDESTONE 20		WYBOSTON
Ab. of Ramsey ...	Eudo dapifer	1½	St. Benedict of Ramsey
Eudo f. Hubert ...	Demesne (4½ hid.) ...	6 3	4 thegns of King Edward...
H. d. Beauchamp	Wimund [de T.]	1½	Aschil King's thegn
Nigel d. Albini ...	Pirot (M)	9 1	12 socmen
Rich. f. Gilbert ...	Monks of St. Neot ...	2	St. Neot, in alms
Azelina the wife of	Tallebosc] Judichel ...	1 1½	Almar man of Ulmar
	CALVESTORNE 10		CHAWSTON
Eudo f. Hubert ...	Demesne	1 1	2 men of King Edward
H. d. Beauchamp	Riwalo	4	2 socmen
William Spech ...	Will. f. Raineward ...	7 1	12 socmen
do	William Gross	2	2 men of King Edward
RO	CHEST(D)ONE 10		ROXTON
H. d. Beauchamp	Rualon	1 1	4 socmen of King Edward ...
William Spech ...	Demesne (4¾ hid.) M	8 3	12 socmen
	BEREFORDE...?14¾		GREAT BARFORD
H. d. Beauchamp	Rualon	3 ...	3 socmen men of King Ed. ...
do	Wim. d. Taissel (M)	5 2½	3 socmen
do	Anschitel priest ...	1 2	2 socmen
do	Tetbaud (M)	1 3½	3 socmen
Css Judith in this	hund. Osbern	2 3	Ulfech King's steersman
Css Judith in this	hund. Hugh	½	Earl Tosti with Pottlon
	COLNEWORDE ² 5		COLMWORTH
H. d. Beauchamp	Wimund d. Taissel M	5 ...	A(s)chi King's thegn; 8 socmen
	CHAINHALLE 5		CHENNELS END... ..
H. d. Beauchamp	Demesne (2 hid.) M	5 ...	Aschil King's thegn v.p. 175, 178
	WILDENE ... 5		WILDEN
Bp of Bayeux ...	Herb. and nephew M	5 ...	24 socmen
(C)GO	LDENSTONE... 10		GOLDINGTON
Bp of Lincoln ...	Ivo Tallebosc	2	Alwin man of the Bishop ...
H. d. Beauchamp	Demesne	3 ...	9 socmen. v.p. 175, 178 ...
do	Roger f. Teodric ...	2 ...	3 socmen
do	Richard M	3 ...	Almæz man of Aschil
do	Walter	1 ...	the men of the vill in common
Alric Wintremelo...	for life	2	same Alric, man of King Ed. ...
		105½	

¹ No doubt included in the 20 hides of Eaton.

² In D.B. Colneworde follows Wimund de Taissel's holding in Bereforde, dividing the entries of Bereforde in Hugh de Beauchamp's fief,

H^d OF BICHELESWADE (BIGGLESWADE) BEDFORD 181

TENANT IN CHIEF	UNDERTENANT	HIDES H. V.	SAXON HOLDER 1065
	DO(A)MTONE 10		DUNTON
Walter Giffard ...	Ralf d. Langetot ...	1 3	4 socm. Abp Stigand's men ...
Rich. Pungiant ...	Demesne ($4\frac{1}{2}$ hid.) M M	8 1	Abp Stigand
	AI(SS)EWORDE 10		EYWORTH
William Spech ...	Demesne ($5\frac{1}{2}$ hid.) M M	9	20 socmen
Azelina wife ...	of Tallebosc] Brodo...	1	the same Brodo... ..
CHENE	MONDEWICHE ¹ $3\frac{3}{4}$?
Ab. St. Edmund's...	Demesne ($1\frac{3}{4}$ hid.) ...	3 3	Earl Wallef ; 2 socmen
	BEREFORDE... 8		LITTLE BARFORD ¹
Ab. of Ramsey ...	Eudo dap. ; Osbern M	5	St. Benedict Ramsey, in alms ...
Osbern f. Walter...	Demesne M M	3	Ulmar d. Etone King's thegn ...
	TAMISEFORDE 10		TEMPSFORD
Bp of Lincoln ...	William d. Caron ...	1 $1\frac{3}{4}$	Alwin Deult man of King Ed....
Eudo f. Hubert ...	Demesne (1 hid.) ...	1 1	2 socmen
do. ...	William d. Caron ...	4 1	3 socm. m. of Ulmar d. Etone...
Rich. Pungiant ...	Robert <i>de feudo regis</i>	2	3 socmen
Alwin King's reeve	Demesne	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 socmen
	MELEHOU ... 10		MILLOW
Bp of Durham ...	Demesne ($3\frac{1}{2}$ hid.) ...	4 2	Holy Cross, Waltham
Walter Giffard ...	Ralf M	5	10 socmen
William de Ow ...	Demesne	2	Godmar man of Alestan (d.B.)...
	STRATONE ... ?8		STRATTON ¹
Walter Giffard ...	Fulcher d. Paris ...	1 $1\frac{1}{2}$	3 socmen
Walter Fleming ...	<i>with Langford</i> ...	1 1	Lewin King's thegn
Ralf d. Insula ...	Demesne M M	4	Abp Stigand
Css Judith ...	Fulcher d. Paris ...	$3\frac{1}{2}$	Alwin man of King Edward ...
N. d. Albini <i>in</i>	<i>hund.</i> Fulcher	2	Samar man of Lewin
	BICHELSWADE 10		BIGGLESWADE
Ralf d. Insula ...	Demesne ($5\frac{1}{2}$ hid.) M	10	Abp Stigand ; 2 socmen $\frac{1}{2}$ hid....
	EDEWORDE ... ?10		EDWORTH
William de Ow ...	Two knights ... M	7 $3\frac{1}{2}$	Alestan d. Bosc. ; 2 socm. $1\frac{1}{2}$ hid.
Alwin King's reeve	Demesne (M)	2 [$1\frac{1}{2}$]	Branling man of King Edward
	HOLME $7\frac{3}{8}$		HOLME
William de Ow ...	Ulvric	3	Alveva " man " of Aschil... ..
H. d. Beauchamp	Mortuing	1	1 socman under Aschil
Nig. d. Albini ...	Fulcher d. Paris ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 socmen
Walter Fleming ...	Demesne	1	2 socmen
Ralf d. Insula ...	Demesne M	2	Abp Stigand ; 3 socm. $\frac{3}{4}$ hid. ...
Css Judith ...	Fulcher d. Paris ...	2	Alwin man of King Edward ...
do. ...	two men	1	Goduin man of King Edward ...
Aluin King's reeve	Demesne	1 2	Alvric and Lemar, bedells ...
	ESTWICHE ... $2\frac{1}{2}$		ASTWICK ³
H. d. Beauchamp	Bernard (M)	1 1	6 socmen
do. ...	Wenelina	2	—men... ..
do. ...	Ledmar	2	Ledmar man of Earl Tosti ...
Walter Fleming ...	Hugh	1	Lewin thegn of King Edward...
	LANGFORD... 10		LANGFORD
Walter Fleming ...	Demesne ($4\frac{1}{2}$ hid.) M	10	Lewin King's th. ; a socm. 1 hid.
For notes see next page		99 $\frac{5}{8}$	

182 BEDFORD HALF H^d OF BU(O)CHELAI (IN WILEY)

TENANT IN CHIEF	UNDERTENANT	HIDES H. V.	SAXON HOLDER 1065
	BLE(A)CHESHOU 5		BLETSOE
H. d. Beauchamp	Osbern d. Broilg <i>M</i>	2 2	Aschil; 3 socm. $\frac{3}{4}$ hid. ...
Css Judith	Osbern	2 2	Leveva "man" of King Edward
	BIDE(N)HAM ... c 10		BIDDENHAM
Bp of Lincoln ...	Ernuin priest	1 1	Levric man of the bishop <i>L</i> ...
Ab. St Edmund's...	Ordui priest	2	Ulmar priest
Osmund, Canon of	St. Paul's Bedford ...	3	Leviet priest, in alms ...
Ansfrid, Canon of	St. Paul's Bedford ...	1	Marwen
H. d. Beauchamp	Serlo d. Ros	1	Alsi d. Bromham m. of Q. Eddid
William Spech ...	Ralf & Serlo d. Ros <i>M</i>	3 2 $\frac{1}{3}$	11 socmen, <i>v.p.</i> 175
Osgar d. Bedford	Demesne	1	Osgar
Goduin d. Bedford	Demesne	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	Goduin, <i>in part</i>
Ordui d. Bedford...	Demesne	1 $\frac{1}{5}$	Ordui, <i>in part</i>
Ulmar	Demesne	$\frac{2}{3}$	Ulmar
	BRUNEHAM ... c 10		BROMHAM
C. Eustace	Ernulf d. Arde	1 2	Alwold & Levric, m. of King Ed.
H. d. Beauchamp	Serlo d. Ros ... <i>M</i>	6	Alsi man of Queen Eddid...
Css Judith	Hugh	2	Godwin m. of Earl Harold ...
Osiet	Demesne	1 $\frac{2}{3}$	Osiet
	PUTENHOU ... 4 $\frac{3}{4}$		PUTNOE
H. d. Beauchamp	Demesne (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.) <i>M</i>	4	Aschil King's thegn
do. with Chain-	-halle (Barford)...	2	do. <i>see p.</i> 178 ...
do. with Gold-	-ington do.	1	[a socman] <i>see p.</i> 178 ...
	STIVENTONE 3		STEVENTON ¹
C. Eustace	Ernulf d. Arde ... <i>M</i>	3 ¹	Adelold King's thegn
	STACHEDENE 10		STAGSDEN
Bp of Bayeux ...	Herbert f. Ivo	3 3	12 socmen men of King Ed. ...
C. Eustace	Goduin english	1	[? the same Godwin]
H. d. Beauchamp	Demesne (2 hid.) <i>M</i>	5	2 men of K; 1 man of Harold...
Css Judith	Hugh	1	2 socmen, men of King Ed. ...
	PABENHAM ... 10		PAVINGHAM
C. Eustace	Ernulf d. Arde ... <i>M</i>	2 2	Alwold King's thegn
Ranulf bro. Ilger...	Robert f. Nigel... (M)	5	Godwin King's thegn
Turstin chamber-	-lain. Demesne ... <i>M</i>	2 2	Alsi man of his brother Alli. ...
		52 $\frac{5}{8}$	

¹ Steventon seems to have lost 2 hides to Turvey in Wiley hundred with which Buchelai is more or less intermixed.

NOTES ON THE HUNDRED OF BIGGLESWADE.

¹ Chenemondewiche has not been identified and there is no guide to its position in the Domesday order. It looks as if 2 hides had been changed between Barford and Stratton, Chenemondewick belonging to the one left with 6 hides.

² Probably the text should read "2 hid. et dim. [virg.]"

³ Astwick adjoins the southern end of Holme parish.

TENANT IN CHIEF	UNDERTENANT	HIDES H. V.	SAXON HOLDER 1065
	CLISTONE ... 13 $\frac{5}{8}$		CLIFTON
Bp of Lincoln ...	William d. Caron ...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Aluin Deult man of King Ed. ...
Ab. of Ramsey ...	Lewin	1	Lewin of Ab. Ramsey <i>L</i>
Eudo f. Hubert ...	William d. Caron <i>M</i>	6 2 ¹	Ulmer d. Etone; 3 socm. 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ hid.
Nig. d. Albin ...	William d. Caron ...	2	4 socmen
Css Judith	Alwin	1	Ulvric man of King Edward ...
	HANESLAU ... 12		HENLOW ²
Nig. d. Albin ...	Erfast	5 2	9 socmen
Walter Fleming ...	Hugh	3 2	6 socmen
Wife of Tallebosc ...	Widrus	1 3	Anschil <i>with Stotfold</i>
do.	Bernard	1	2 socmen men of Anschil ...
Alvric	Demesne	1	the same Alvric
	ALRICESI ... 15 $\frac{1}{3}$		ARLESEY
Bp of Durham ...	Demesne ... (M)	8 ³ _{colle}	Canons of St. Cross, Waltham ...
William de Ow ...	Burnard	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ 2 ³ _{colle}	Alestan d. Bosc.; a socm. $\frac{2}{3}$ hid.
Nig. d. Albin ...	Erfast	3 ³ _{colle}	2 socmen
Ulde	Ulsi		
	STOTFALT ... 15		STOTFOLD
H. d. Beauchamp	Demesne (5 hid.) <i>M</i>	15	Aschil King's th.; 7 socm. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.
	SETHLINDONE 10		SHILLINGTON
Ab. of Ramsey ...	Demesne (2 hid.) <i>M</i>	10	St. Benedict, Ramsey
	HOLLEWELLE 10		HOLWELL
Ab. of Ramsey ...	Demesne	<i>M</i> 3 2	St. Benedict, Ramsey
Ab. Westminster ...	Demesne (3 $\frac{1}{8}$ hid.) <i>M</i>	6 2	St. Peter, Westminster
	CHICHESANE } 10		CHICKSAND
Bp of Lincoln ...	William d. Caron ...	2	Aluin Deult
Wife of Tallebosc	3 socmen ... (M)	3	4 socmen
do.	Walter	1	Sueteman m. of Ulmar d. Etone
	CUDESANE		?
H. d. Beauchamp	3 socmen	2	4 socmen
Walter Gifard ...	Ralf Langetot; ... <i>M</i>	3 2	4 socmen. <i>v.p.</i> 175
	<i>Germund of him</i>		
	CHAMBELTONE 7		CAMPTON
Walter Gifard ...	Ralf Langetot ... <i>M</i>	4 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 socmen. <i>v.p.</i> 175
William de Ow ...	Fulbert	2	Aluin man of Alestan (d.B.) ...
Turstin chamb. ...	Demesne (1 $\frac{7}{8}$ hid.) ...	1 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 socmen
(Robert d'Oily) ...	(<i>in Herts v.p.</i> 98) ⁴ (1 $\frac{1}{2}$)		(<i>Polechanger</i> 137 b 2)
	MAL PERTESELLE 7 $\frac{1}{4}$		MEPPERSHALL
Gilb. f. Salomon ...	Demesne (5 hid.) <i>M</i>	4	Lewin cilt, K's th.; 4 socm. 2 h.
do. <i>in Herts</i>	<i>se defend.</i>	3 1 ⁵	Lewin (f 142 a 1, <i>v.p.</i> 98, 174) ...
	STANDONE ... 3		STONDON ⁵
Ab. of Ramsey ...	Demesne	2	St. Benedict, Ramsey
Wife of Tallebosc	Engeler	2 2	Ulmar d. Etone; 5 socmen ...
		103 $\frac{1}{4}$	

¹ Perhaps the text should read "6 hid. dim. [virg. minus]," which would make a total of just 13 hides.

² Henlow could if necessary be grouped with the 3 hides of Stondon.

³ The text should probably read either "8 hid. $\frac{2}{3}$ virg. [minus]" cf. Chambelton, 216 b 2, or "5 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid. et $\frac{2}{3}$ [dim.] hid."

⁴ Probably dragged into Herts by Robert

d'Oily who had no other land in Beds except 3 virgates at "Lalega" in Wiley.

⁵ Stondon adjoins the southern end of Henlow, with which it may possibly have been grouped; more probably 2 hides are missing. If 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ hides of Meppershall are rejected from Bedfordshire, Stondon can be grouped with the remaining 4.

TENANT IN CHIEF	UNDERTENANT	HIDES H. V.	SAXON HOLDER 1065
The King	LOITONE ... M	30	LUTON
	HAGENES ...	5	HAYNES
H. d. Beauchamp	Demesne ($2\frac{1}{2}$ hid.) M	5	Achi King's thegn
	CLOPELLE ...	5	CLOPHILL
Nig. d. Albini ...	Demesne (3 hid.) M	5	2 thegns men of Tosti
	FLICTHAM ...	5	FLITTON
Robert Fafiton ...	Demesne (2 hid.) (M)	5	Alwin Horim King's thegn
	C(H)AINEHOU	5	CAINHOE
Nig. d. Albini ...	Demesne ($2\frac{3}{4}$ hid.) M	4	Alvric King's thegn
Wife of Tallebosc	Turstin	1	Ulvric socman of King Ed.
	CRAVENHEST	$9\frac{1}{2}$	GRAVENHURST
H. d. Beauchamp	William	$\frac{1}{2}$	5 socmen v.p. 175
SI(E)	WILESSON ...	...	SILSOE
Nig. d. Albini ...	N's concubine ...	M 2	Alvric parvus King's thegn
Walter bro. Seier	Hugh	M M 4	Levenot K's th.; 3 socm. $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.
POL	OCHESSSELE ...	10	PULLOXHILL
Nig. d. Albini ...	Roger and Ruallon M	10	8 socmen
	SONEDONE ...	10	SUNDON
William de Ow ...	Demesne (4 hid.) M	10	Alestan d. Boscumbe
STR	AD(AI)LEI ... c	10	STREATLEY v.p. 175
H. d. Beauchamp	Will. d. Locels ... M	M 4	Aschil King's th.; a socm. 1 hid.
William de Ow ...	Walter	1	Goduin man of Alestan [d.B.]...
Nig. d. Albini ...	Pirot	M M 4	$1\frac{1}{3}$ Lewin cilt; 3 King's thegns
William Spech ...	Hugh	$\frac{2}{3}$	Alvric man of Alvric parvus
Reeve of hundred	Demesne	$\frac{2}{3}$	Ulmar priest
BIS	SOPESCOTE ...	5	BISCOT
The King	Demesne	5	Eduin man of Asgar staller
	ECHAM	8	HIGHAM GOBION
H. d. Beauchamp	William d. Locels M	8	5 socmen v.p. 175
	BERTONE ...	11	BARTON IN THE CLAY
Ab. of Ramsey ...	Demesne (3 hid.) M	11	St. Benedict, Ramsey
	PECHESDONE	10	PEGSDON
Ab. of Ramsey ...	Demesne (2 hid.) M	10	St. Benedict, Ramsey
	CADENDONE	5	CADDINGTON
St. Paul's, London	the Canons (2 hid.) M	5	Lewin cilt

THE HUNDRED OF MANSHEVE (MANSHEAD) BEDFORD 185

TENANT IN CHIEF	UNDERTENANT	HIDES H. V.	SAXON HOLDER 1065
The King	HOUSTONE ... 10	10	HOUGHTON REGIS
	ASPELEIA ... 10		ASPLEY GUISE
H. d. Beauchamp	Acard d'Ivri ... M	10	Leveva of Earl Wallef
	SALEFORD ... 5		SALFORD
H. d. Beauchamp	(? Acard) ... M	5	Turchil King's thegn
	CRAWELAI ... 10		CRAWLEY
Nig. d. Albini ...	Turgis ... MM	5	9 thegns
William Lovet ...	Demesne (2 hid.) MM	5	Grimbald man of King Edward
	HOLECOTE ... 5		HULCOT
William Spech ...	Ralf Passagnam MM	4	Alward Belrap man of Alvrice ...
Nig. d. Albini (in hund.)	Turgis ... 1		Suglo m. of Alvrice f. Goding ...
	EVRESHOT ... 10		EVERSHOLT
Bp of Bayeux ...	Ansgot d. Rochester ...	2	4 King's thegns
H. d. Beauchamp	Ralf ... MM	7 2	Turgis King's thegn
Claimed by Herbert	King's reeve ...	2	Socmen of King Edward
	WOBU(E)RNE ? 10		WOBURN
Walter Gifard ...	Hugh d. Bolbec M	10	Alric K's thegn; 6 socm. 4 hid.
Claimed by Herbert	King's reeve ? in 10	3	hides above
	MILDENTONE 10		MILTON BRYANT
Bp of Bayeux ...	Ansgot d. Rochester ...	4	7 socmen
H. d. Beauchamp	Will. Froissart ... MM	6	a huscarl of Earl Algar
	POTESGRAVE 10		POTSGROVE
William chamber-	lain. Demesne ... 1		Morcar priest
Gozelin Breton ...	Demesne (3 hid.) MM	7 2	4 thegns
Claimed by Herbert	King's Reeve ... 1		Socmen of King Edward
Equarius quidam	regis	2	Oswi man of Earl Tosti
	DODINTONE ... 15½		TODDINGTON
Ernulf d. Hesding	Dem. (10 caruc.) (M)	15 2	Wlward Levett
	CELGRAVE ... 8½		CHALGRAVE
Ernulf d. Hesding	Demesne	1 ½	Edward cilt
Albert d. Lorraine	Demesne (3 caruc.) M	8 ½	the same Albert
	BADELESDONE 11		BATTLES DEN
Walter Gifard ...	Richard Talebot M	9	7 socmen
William chamber-	lain. Demesne ...	2	Morcar priest of Luton
Wife of Tallebosc	Demesne	1 2	2 socmen, Anschil and Alwin ...
	HOCHLEIA ... 10		HOCKLIFFE
Wife of Tallebosc	Demesne (5 hid.) M	10	Anschil King's thegn
	TINGREI ... 2½		TINGRITH
Nig. d. Albini ...	Turgis ... M	2 1	2 thegns
	PRESTELAI ... 2½		PRIESTLY FARM
Nig. d. Albini ...	Turgis	1 2	5 thegns
a King's Reeve ...	Demesne	1	4 thegns
	HERLINGDONE 5		HARLINGTON
Nig. d. Albini ...	Demesne ... M	5	4 thegns
1351½			

TENANT IN CHIEF	UNDERTENANT	HIDES H. V	SAXON HOLDER 1065
	OTONE 10		WOOTTON
Albert d. Lorraine	Demesne (2 hid.) M 10		Almar man of Earl Tosti...
	ESSELSTONE ... 5		SHELTON
Nig. d. Albini ...	Erfast 1		Alward m. of Alric f. Goding ...
do. ...	Stephen 2		Fuglo m. of Alric f. Goding ...
Albert d. Lorraine	Demesne (1 hid.) (M) 3		Almar man of Earl Tosti ...
Adeliza wife of H.	de Grentmesnil ... 2		Goduin man of Earl Guert ...
	MERESTONE 10		MARSTON MORETAIN ...
Walter Gifard ...	Hugh d. Bolbec ... 1 3½		2 thegns
Nig. d. Albini ...	Erfast M 8 ½		21 socmen
	CRANFELLE ... 10		CRANFIELD
Ab. of Ramsey ...	Demesne (2 hid.) M 10		St Benedict, Ramsey ...
	SEGENHOW ... 10		SEGENHOE (RIDGEMONT) ...
Walter bro. Seier...	Demesne (4 hid.) M 10		Levenot K's th.; a socm. ½ hid.
	LITINCLETONE 10		LIDLINGTON
Abbess Barking ...	Demesne (2 hid.) (M) 10		St Mary, Barking ...
	MELEBROC ... 5		MILLBROOK
Nig. d. Albini ...	Nigel d. Wast ... M 5		Goduin f. Lewin; [? socmen] ...
	STEPIGELAI ... 5		STEPINGLEY
William Spech ...	Will. f. Rainald (M) 5		Almar m. of Alvric d. Flitwick; 2 socmen, men of Almar ...
	FLICTEWICHE 5		FLITTWICK
William Lovett ...	Demesne (2 hid.) M 5		Alwin King's thegn ...
	AMMETELLE 5		AMPTHILL
Nig. d. Albini ...	Nigel d. Wast ... M 5		7 socmen
	MELDONE ... c 9¾		MAULDEN
Walter Gifard ...	Hugh d. Bolbec M 3		Alwin brother of Bp Ului ...
H. d. Beauchamp	Demesne 2½		Goduin man of Aschil ...
Nig. d. Albini 25	acres seized by John 5/6		d. Roches
Css Judith ...	Nuns of Elstow M 5 1½		Alwold K's th.; a socman ⅛ hid.
a King's Reeve ...	Demesne 2		2 socmen of King Edward ...
	HOUSTONE ... 10		HOUGHTON CONQUEST ...
H. d. Beauchamp	Demesne M 5		7 socmen
Css Judith ...	Hugh 2		Lepsi man of Earl Tosti ...
Ad. d. Grentmesnil	Ernald; a socman M 4 2		3 socmen
	WESCOTE		IN WILLSHAMSTEAD (V.H.)
Nig. d. Albini ...	Demesne M 2 3		7 socmen
Ordui ...	Demesne 1		the same Ordui
WIN	ESSAMESTEDE } 9½		WILLSHAMSTEAD
Css Judith ...	Nuns of Elstow... M 3		8 socmen
	ELMESTOW		ELSTOW
Css Judith ...	Nuns of Elstow... M 3 2		4 socmen of King Ed. ...
	CAMESTONE... 10		KEMPSTON
Css Judith ...	Demesne (2 hid.) M 10		Earl Guert; 2 thegns 2½ hid. ...
		114¼	

¹ Or Radbernestoch.

TENANT IN CHIEF	UNDERTENANT	HIDES H. V.	SAXON HOLDER 1065
	GLEDELAI ... 2 $\frac{1}{2}$		GLADLY (LEIGHTON HEATH)
Gozelin Breton ...	Demesne 2 $\frac{1}{2}$		Wigot the huntsman... ...
	LESTONE ... 47		LEIGHTON BUZZARD ...
The King ...	<i>including</i> M 47		<i>10 and 7 hides added</i> ...
	PILEWORDE ¹ ... 10		TILSWORTH
William Pevrel ...	Ambrose M 10		Levric f. Osmund K's thegn ...
	SEWELLE ... 3		SEWELL
The King ...	Demesne 3		Walrave man of Queen Edid ...
	TOTENEHOU 21 $\frac{3}{4}$		TOTTERNHOE
Walter Fleming ...	Osbert M 15		Levenot King's thegn ...
William chamber- do. <i>claimed</i> ²	lain. Dem. (3 $\frac{3}{4}$ hid.) M 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>with the same manor</i> 2 2 $\frac{1}{2}$		Lewine man of Earl Wallef ... [? part of Eaton Bray] ...
	EITONE 12 $\frac{1}{4}$		EATON BRAY
Bp of Bayeux ...	Demesne (2 hid.) M 12 $\frac{1}{4}$		Alsi man of Queen Edid ...
	ESTODEHAM ... 6		STUDHAM
Rob. d. Todeni ...	Baldric M 6		Osulf f. Frane King's thegn ...
	EDINGEBERGE ... 10		EDLESBOROUGH (BUCKS) ...
Gilbert d. Gand ...	Demesne (5 hid.) (M) 10		Ulf King's thegn
114 $\frac{1}{2}$			

HUNDRED OF STODEN (STODEN)

	CHENOTINGE ... 5		KNOTTING
Bp of Coutances ...	Demesne (3 hid.) M 5		Burret... ...
	MELCEBURNE ... 10		MELCHBOURN
Bp of Coutances ...	Demesne (3 hid.) M 10		Burret ; 6 socmen ...
	DENA 10 $\frac{1}{6}$		DENE
Bp of Coutances ...	6 socmen M 4		6 socm. men of Borret ($\frac{1}{2}$ hid. L)
Bp of Lincoln ...	Godfrey 2	$\frac{1}{2}$	Goduin King's thegn ...
Will. d. Warene ...	3 socmen 2		the same 3 socm. (2 S ; one L)...
11 socmen of King	William 1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	the same 11 socmen ...
GoduinDere of Bed	ford	$\frac{1}{2}$	the same Godui(n) Dere ...
	GIVELDENE ... 10		YELDON
Bp of Coutances ...	Geof. d. Traillgi M 10		Borret ; 5 socmen 5 hid. ...
	ESELTON ... 5		SHELTON
Bp of Coutances ...	William dapifer... M 5		Ulveva under Borret L ...
	TILLEBROC ... 5		TILLBROOK
Will. d. Warene ...	20 socmen M 5		the same 20 socmen ...
	RISELAI 10		RISELEY
Bp of Coutances ...	2 French.; 6 Engl. M 6		Burred ; 3 socmen his men 4 hid.
Bp of Lincoln ...	Godfrey 1		Godric King's thegn ...
H. d. Beauchamp ...	<i>with Keysoe</i> 1		Aschil " Hugh's antecessor " ...
H. d. Beauchamp ...	Alvric priest 2		Uvenot man of Godric sheriff ...
Osbern f. Richard ...	Hugh Hubald 2		Alwin man of Stori ...
David d'Argenton ...	Demesne 1		Horndai man of Earl Harold ...
	CHAIOT 5		KEYSOE
H. d. Beauchamp ...	Demesne M 4	3	Aschil K's th. ; 12 socm. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.
Osbern f. Richard ...	Hugh Hubald 1		not given

¹ The initial letter P suggests that the original return had a Saxon character for Th.

² These 2 hides had been seized by the Bp of Bayeux and given to Adelulf his chamberlain.

TENANT IN CHIEF	UNDERTENANT	HIDES H. V.	SAXON HOLDER 1065
Ab. Peterborough	STANEWIGA ... 2½ Demesne ... (M)	2 2	STANWICK (NOW NORTHANTS) St. Peter of Burgh ...
Osbern f. Richard	ELVENDONE ... Hugh Hubald ...	M 1 1	? Alwin man of Stori ...
Hugh butler ...	SEGRESDONE ... Demesne ...	2½ 1	? Alwin man of Earl Harold ...
Will. d. Warene	HANEFELDE ... <i>with Kimbolton</i> ...	3	? NEAR KIMBOLTON ... <i>gelded rightly in Beds</i> ...
Saiet "of the King's	<i>soc</i> ...	1	the same Saiet ...
Miles Crispin	CLOPEHAM ... 5 Demesne (10 caruc.)	M 5	CLAPHAM ... Brixtric (K's th.) of Ramsey Ab.
Bp of Coutances	ESTONE ... 9½ 4 socmen ...	3	? STAUGHTON ¹ ... same 4 socmen men of Burret...
Bp of Lincoln	William d. Caron ...	2½	Aluin Deul(t) man of the bishop
Will. d. Warene	wrongly ² ...	1	Avigi man of Anschil ³ ...
do.	title doubtful ...	1 1	Avigi ³ ...
do.	? ...	1	Blach man of Avigi ...
do.	Tedric ...	1¼	Godric man of the sheriff ...
H. d. Beauchamp	Wimund ...	2	Oviet man of Aschil ...
Hugh butler...	Demesne (1 hid.) (M)	2 3	Wig K's thegn ; a socman ½ hid.
Sigar d. Cioches	Dem. (2 caruc) ...	2	Wig King's thegn ...
Osb. f. Richard	Hugh Hubald ...	2½	Stori m. of Tosti ; a socm. ⅛ hid.
Ab. of Ely "jacet in	Estone et geldat in (1/6) member of Spaldwich Hunts ¹ ...		Beds" ... } see D.B. 208 a 2 } ...
Turgot	in this hund 218 b 2 ... ½	2	Turgot's father King's thegn ...
BO(U) LEHESTRE	... 4½		BOLHNURST ...
Bp of Bayeux	Tovi priest ...	2	Azor man of Bored ...
do.	Two socmen ...	2	the same 2 socmen ...
Bp of Coutances	Demesne ...	3	Godmunt man of King Edward
Ab. of Thorney	Demesne (1 caruc.)	M 2 1	Alfreda ; then Thorney Abbey...
Css Judith	Hugh ...	2	Alman King's thegn ...
Bp of Coutances	NEWENTONE ... William dapifer ... ¼	1	? Alwin man of Borred L ...
H. d. Beauchamp	MILDENTONE 10 William Bassett ...	1 3½	MILTON ERNEST ... not given ...
Nig. d. Albini	Turgis ...	2 3	6 socmen. <i>v.p.175</i> ...
Walter Fleming	Rainald ...	2	2 socmen men of Brictric ...
Ad. d. Grentmesnil	Ivo steward ...	M M 3 1	Goduin man of Borret ...
a bedell	Demesne ...	½	the bedell's father ...
Css Judith	ACHELEI ... 5		OAKLEY ...
Rob. d. Todeni	Miles Crispin ...	1	Goduin man of Earl Harold ...
	2 knights <i>v.p. 175</i> ...	4	Osulf f. Frane Kings thegn ...

¹ In the Testa (p. 248 b, 9 a) Staughton seems to be a vill of just under 10 hides and to belong like Colnworth to the Beauchamp fief. Perhaps 'Estone' represents 'Westone,' or 'West Stocktone' or possibly [1]e Sto[ch]tone. The Ab. of Ely's ¼ hide 'in Estone,' mentioned by D.B. under Hunts as having been seized by Eustace the sheriff, seems probably, though not necessarily, in the same "Estone" as the other ten entries. This ¼ is identified by Mr. Round (V.H. i 215) with the Easton in Hunts near Spaldwick; but is this certain? Though Spaldwick had a dependency at the Easton near to it, may not the ¼ hide of "Estone" on f208 be a fragment of Little Staughton or some other vill inside Beds?

² Anschil being "antecessor of Hugh de Beauchamp."

³ For this land Avigi seems to have been "commended to Ralf Tallebosc, but on his deathbed he said he was the man of William."

TENANT IN CHIEF	UNDERTENANT	HIDES H. V.	SAXON HOLDER 1065
Eudo f. Hubert ...	SANDEIA ... 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ Demesne (8 $\frac{1}{4}$ hid.) M	16 1'	SANDY ¹ Ulmar d. Etone King's thegn ...
Css Judith ...	POTONE ... 10 Dem. (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ h.) 2 socm. M	10	POTTON Tosti; then King; 4 socm. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ hid.
Eudo f. Hubert ...	SUTTONE ... 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ Alwin	3	SUTTON 2 socmen
Css Judith ...	Torchil	1 2	3 socmen
do. ...	Alwin	1	6 socmen
do. ...	Levegar	2	Levegar man of King Edward...
do. ...	Robert	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 socmen
do. ...	Sueting and Robert ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Edward man of St. Albans ...
do. ...	Turbert	2	2 socmen
do. ...	Goduin	3	Ulmar man of Ordui... ..
do. ...	Ederic	2	the same E. m. of K. Ed.; 2 socm.
Alwin King's reeve	Demesne	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 socmen
Alwin ...	Demesne	1	the same Alwin $\frac{3}{4}$ hid.; Edw. $\frac{1}{4}$ h.
Css Judith ...	HATELAI ... 9 Demesne (4 $\frac{5}{8}$ hid.) M	3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	HATLEY COCKAYNE E. Tosti <i>in Potton</i> ; socm. $\frac{1}{4}$ hid.
Wife of Tallebosc	Demesne (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ hid.) M	5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ulmar K's th.; 2 socm. $\frac{5}{8}$ hid. ...
Css Judith ...	EVRETONE ... 5 Ranulf bro. Ilger M	5	EVERTON Earl Tosti

 49 $\frac{7}{8}$

HUNDRED OF WILGA (WILEY)

Bp of Bayeux ...	CARLENTONE c 6' Herb. f. Ivo; 2 socmen	1 1	CARLTON 2 socmen
Nig. d. Albini ...	Chetel	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Golderon man of Levenot ...
Nig. d. Albini ...	Bernard	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 socmen
Osbern fisherman	Demesne	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Goduin Frambolt
Chelbert ...	Demesne	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Chelbert m. of Queen & Alli K's th.
Bp of Coutances ...	<i>In this hundred</i> ... 4 Geof. d. Tralgi ... M	4	? CARLTON Turbert man of King Edward...
FALMERESHAM	MERESHAM ... 11'		FELMERSHAM
Gilb. f. Salomon ...	Demesne (4 hid.) M	7 2	6 socmen
Css Judith ...	Gilbert	3 2	Alli King's thegn
Nig. d. Albini ...	RADEWELLE 10 Nigel d. Wast ... (M)	7 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	RADWELL 10 socmen
Css Judith ...	Hugh	2 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Tovi housecarl of King Edward
TORVEIE; TORNAL	VEIE; TORNAL c 12		TURVEY
Bp of Bayeux ...	H. f. Ivo; <i>Wimund</i> ...	1	Man of Alwold d. Steventon ...
Bp of Coutances ...	Demesne (2 hid.) M	4	3 socmen men of King Edward
C. Eustace ...	Ernulf d. Arde ...	1	Alwold King's thegn... ..
H. d. Beauchamp	Warner	1	2 socmen
Nig. d. Albini ...	Nigel d. Wast ...	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Alward man of Ulwi... ..
Rob. d. Toden	2 knights	2 1	Osulf f. Frane King's thegn ...
Walter Fleming ...	Hugh	1	Levenot King's thegn
Alwin priest ...	Demesne	2 $\frac{3}{8}$	Alwin
Osiet King's reeve	<i>in hund.; ? in Turvey</i>	2	a socman

¹ Sandy divides the hundred of Biggleswade into two parts. Its excess of 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ hide probably came from Sutton and Hatley, or possibly from 'Chenemondewiche' which has 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ hides in Biggleswade.

TENANT IN CHIEF	UNDERTENANT	HIDES H. V.	SAXON HOLDER 1065
Css Judith	HAREWELLE 10 10 Gilb. d. Blossesville <i>M</i>		HARROLD 3 King's thegns... ..
C. Eustace	WAD(EH)ELLE 10 Ernulf d. Arde ... <i>M</i> 4 2 $\frac{3}{4}$		ODELL Alwold King's thegn... ..
Walter Fleming	Demesne (2 <i>hid.</i>) <i>M</i> 5 1 $\frac{3}{4}$		Levenot K's th.; a socm. $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>hid.</i>
William	FERNADIS 3 Demesne { ... 2		FARNDISH ¹ 3 socmen
Henry f. Azor	Demesne { ... 1		2 socmen
Walter Fleming	PODINTONE 4 Hugh { <i>M</i> 1 3		PUDDINGTON ¹ Levenot King's thegn
Hugh Fleming	Demesne ($\frac{1}{2}$ <i>hid.</i>) <i>M</i> 2 1		4 socmen
Bp of Coutances	HENEWIC 8 Turstin 1 2		HINWICK
William Spech	Walter 1		Ulnod man of Ulsi f. Borgret ...
Hugh Fleming	Demesne 1 2		Alwold man of Bishop Ulwi ...
Gunfrid d. Cioches	Tetbald 1 3		2 socmen
Edward	Demesne 2		the same Edward's father ...
Turstin chamberlain	Demesne 1 3		Godwin Frambolt K's th. <i>v.p.</i> 175
Bp of Coutances	S(C) ERNEBROC ... 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ Turgis english 2		SHARNBROOK Aluin man of Borret... ..
do.	7 socmen 3		7 socmen men of Borred ...
do.	Humfrey 2		Alvric man of Borred ...
do.	Demesne 2		Borred
C. Eustace	Robert d. Rozelin ... 2		Alwold man of King Edward ...
H. d. Beauchamp	Osbern d. Broilg ... 1 $\frac{1}{2}$		3 socmen
Hugh Fleming	Robert 2 $\frac{1}{2}$		Levric man of Ramsey Abbey...
Osbern fisherman	Demesne 2		Tovi housecarl of King Edward
Albert d. Lorraine	Demesne (1 <i>hid.</i>) ... 2 1		Algar man of Queen Edid ...
Css Judith	Hugh 3		Oviet man of King Edward ...
Almar	Demesne 1 $\frac{1}{2}$		the same Almar's father ...
William Spech	WIMENTONE 10 Walter 3		WIMMINGTON Levric man of Borgred ...
Alfred d. Lincoln	Glev <i>M</i> 3		Goduin Franpold
Walter Fleming	Osbert <i>M</i> 4		Lant man of Levenot ...
do.	Osbert 2		Goduin Franpolt
Five brothers	Demesne 3		their father Lant
Turchil	Demesne 1		Turchil
Miles Crispin	LALEGA 5 Levric 1		THURLEIGH Levric man of Brixtric ...
H. d. Beauchamp	Leviet 2		Moding man of Queen Edid ...
Robert d'Olgie	Rich. Basset 2		Oviet King's thegn
do.	Salomon priest 1		Alwin man of Bishop Ulwi ...
Walter Fleming	Hugh <i>M</i> 3		Levenot King's thegn
do.	Ragnald 2		Ordric man of Levenot
Bp of Coutances	RISEDENE 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ Alwold 2		RUSHDEN (NORTHANTS)... Alvric man of Borred
William Pevrel	Malet 1		Samar priest man of Css Goda
		104 $\frac{5}{8}$	

¹ There are entered in Northants $\frac{1}{2}$ hide at Puddington and $\frac{3}{4}$ at Farndish as in the soc of William Pevrel at Higham Ferrers (225 b); possibly these duplicate the land of some of the T.R.E. socmen, for the hides given in Beds make with Hinwick, which is close by, 4+3+8 a neat 15 hide rating.

	SUDGIVIBLE...	9 $\frac{3}{4}$			SOUTHILL
Eudo f. Hubert ...	William d. Caron ...		$\frac{1}{2}$		Alvric
H. d. Beauchamp	Demesne	2	1		8 socmen
William Spech ...	Two frenchmen ...	M 5	$\frac{1}{2}$		16 socmen
Walter fleming ...	Demesne		2		Walter's antecessor ...
do.	Alric		1		Lewin King's thegn, in pledge
Richard Pungiant	Demesne		2		Abp Stigand
Css Judith	Hugh	1			Tuffa man of Earl Wallef ...
	STANFORD ...	9 $\frac{1}{4}$			STANFORD
Eudo f. Hubert ...	William d. Caron ...	4			Ulmar d. Et. K's th.; 2 socm. $\frac{1}{2}$ h.
H. d. Beauchamp	Demesne	1	$\frac{1}{2}$		4 socmen (3 <i>libere</i> , one <i>L</i>) ...
Rozet	Ailmer de Ow ...	1			... ..
William Spech ...	Hugh	1			Lemar King's thegn
Wife of Tallebosc	Rozet	2			2 socmen
Alric	Demesne		$\frac{1}{4}$		the same Alric
Ordui	Demesne		$\frac{1}{4}$		the same Ordui
	BRUME	5			BROOM
Nig. d. Albini ...	Nigel d. Wast ...	5			7 socmen
	WARDONE ...	9 $\frac{7}{8}$			WARDEN
William Spech ...	Demesne (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>hid.</i>) MM	9			6 socmen
Ralf d. Insula ...	Demesne		1 $\frac{1}{2}$		not given
Wife of Tallebosc	Walter monk ...		2		Goding man of Edric (Calvus)
	HER GE(N)TONE ...	10			HARROWDEN
Ernuin priest ...	Demesne	1			Ernuin's father man of King Ed.
Nig. d. Albini ...	Demesne (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ <i>hid.</i>) (M)	6			14 socmen
Css Judith	Canons of Bedford ...	3			Azelin man of Earl Tosti ...
	CHERNETONE ...	10			CARDINGTON
H. d. Beauchamp	Demesne (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>hid.</i>) M	6	2 $\frac{1}{8}$		13 socmen
Css Judith	Hugh	3	1 $\frac{1}{8}$		Azelin "man" of Tosti <i>L</i> ...
	COCHEPOL ...	10			COPLE
H. d. Beauchamp...	Robert	M 4			3 socmen
do.	Raynald	1	1		2 socmen
do.	Gonfrid	1	$\frac{1}{2}$		2 socmen
do.	Norman	1			Aschil <i>in Welton</i> ; Alestan $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>hid.</i>
do.	Branting	1			3 socmen
do.	Robert	3			3 socmen
do.	Roger Liboret ...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$			3 socmen
Css Judith	Hugh	1			Ulwin man of King Edward ...
	BLUNEHAM ...	5			BLUNHAM
Ab. St. Edmund's	Demesne (2 $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>hid.</i>) ...	4	1		4 socmen
Css Judith	Ab. St. Edmund's ...		2		a man of King Edward ...
Eudo f. Hubert ...	Domnic		1		4 socmen
	BISTONE ...	10 $\frac{1}{2}$			BEESTON GREEN
Eudo f. Hubert ...	Roland	3			Norman King's thegn
do.	Norman	4			Norman King's thegn
do.	Pirot	1			Ravan man of Ulmar d. Etone
William Spech ...	Demesne		3 $\frac{1}{2}$		Lewin King's thegn
Turstin chamber-	lain. Demesne ...		2		Goduin man of Earl Tosti ...
Godmund	Demesne		3		the same Godmund
Alwin	Demesne		1 $\frac{1}{2}$		the same Alwin
	NORTGIBLE ...	10			NORTHILL
Eudo f. Hubert ...	Pirot	1	2		Ravan man of Ulmar d. Etone
do.	Ralf	1	2		2 socmen
H. d. Beauchamp	Walter		2		Osiet man of King Edward ...
William Spech ...	Demesne (4 <i>hid.</i>) M	6	2		6 socmen
	WELITONE ...	10			WILLINGTON
H. d. Beauchamp	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>) M	10			Aschil K's thegn; 8 socm. 7 <i>hid.</i>
	CERLENTONE ...	10			CHARLTON
A. d. Grentmesnil	Demesne (5 <i>hid.</i>) M	10			Tosti <i>in Potton</i> ; then King ...
			109 $\frac{3}{8}$		

NOTE ON HAMPSHIRE

Hampshire is remarkable for containing an admission that Harold, who is elsewhere in Domesday called 'Heraldus comes,' was actually king if only *de facto*. Oddly enough the admission probably came from William's own officers, for it is in the 'Terra Regis' that we read on f38 a 2 that Harold seized Hayling "quando regnum invasit" and Soberton "quando regnabat." In Hampshire Domesday contains also a number of interesting details outside the statistics. Most of them have been noticed by Mr. Round in the Victoria History (i 400-47), but in any case they could not be included in the notes to a table and no tables are given here, except for the New Forest with some notes on the evidence as to its treatment by the Conqueror which is to be found in Domesday. No general tables are furnished because in Hampshire the old local arrangements appear to have been considerably disturbed before the conquest. Winchester was the old capital and it is perhaps not unnatural that in the neighbourhood of the capital there should have been some decay of the earlier system; at all events the original hundreds appear to have been much altered. Besides this there seems to have been consolidation of detached estates with the big manors held by the bishop and the two great abbeys, and unluckily the consolidation is disguised by Domesday, which in Hampshire does not distinguish these added members from the chief manor.

Let us take as an instance the manor and hundred of Micheldever belonging to St. Peter's, the New Minster. A charter dated 900, but really manufactured a hundred years later,¹ describes for us that great manor and the members included in it about 1000-20. By Norsebury House (Næsanbyrig) on the west, Lunleyways or Lunways Inn² on the south-west marking the crossroad from 'the street' to 'Linleage,' Candover and Totford on the south-east ('along Candever to Duddune'), and Popham Common (Papanholt) on the north the boundary of 'Myceldefer' itself can be well recognized as that which now surrounds Micheldever, Stratton, that part of Northington, then Northameton, which with Burcot or Berkitt farm adjoins Stratton on the south, and probably Lower Swaraton.³ These make a solid block of 12,200 acres or with Swaraton some 13,000. Then follow the members. (a) Crambourne (8 hides), a manor held of St. Peter's in 1086 by Hugh de Port and later by the St Johns, containing some 900 acres separated from Micheldever by

¹ Birch, Cart. Sax. ii 245, No. 596; Liber de Hyda (Rolls Ser.) 85.

² 'Lunleyways' in the manor books.

³ Lower Swaraton was held 'of' the manor of Micheldever. Its hundred—Micheldever or Bountisborough—is doubtful, but there is much

uncertainty as to the exact contents of the Hants hundreds; the Population Returns of 1831 and of 1841 often differ, and in the County Directory the list of hundreds does not agree with the parochial part.

Hunton. (*b,c*) Durley and Curdrige or parts of them, 12 miles to the south near Bishops Waltham. (*d*) 'Torigeleage' (1 hide) englisged as 'Thorle.' This was Farley (Chamberlayne) 10 miles south-west near Romsey; it is the tithing of Slackstead, containing some 250 acres still in the manor and hundred of Micheldever.¹ (*e*) 'Six hides at Kandefer.' These are the 700 acres of Northington parish which lie detached from the rest of it between Brown and Chilton Candover.² (*f*) 'Seven hides at Worthge,' i.e. Abbot's Worthy, where Bull Farm has belonged to the Micheldever estate and hundred down to the present day. All these except (*f*) and possibly (*a*) would naturally have belonged and probably did once belong to other hundreds. Durley and Curdrige were probably lost before 1086, but they were more than replaced, for while the charter speaks of 100 *cassati*, Domesday gives 106 hides to Micheldever, which it tells us included East Popham a little to the east and Drayton in Barton Stacey 5 miles to the north-west; Drayton or part of it is still in Micheldever hundred. Even without Durley and Curdrige the consolidation with Micheldever of its detached members would interfere with several other hundreds.

The "10 mansæ at Micheldever," stretching from Worthy on the south to 'Waddanige' and 'Myceldefer' (stream) on the north, which were granted to Newminster by a charter dated 904³ are clearly the Wonston held in Domesday and up to 1539 by St Swithun's, the Old Minster, i.e. the manor of about 1600 acres which was given in 1541 to the Winchester chapter and forms the south-eastern third of the present parish. This is proved by the boundary point 'Waddanige,' which in the Cranbourne boundary lies west of Wonston church.⁴ As Wonston does not appear in the great Micheldever charter Newminster seems to have lost or parted with it before 1025.

Domesday tells us that Micheldever was rated T.R.E. at 106 hides and at 83 hides $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate in 1086, and also that of this manor Hugh de Port held 22 hides 3 virgates. It is perhaps worth notice that $22\frac{3}{4}$ is within a $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate of $106-83\frac{1}{8}$, and Hugh's holding consisted of Cranbourne, Drayton, [West] Stratton, Popham and [Lower] Swaraton,⁵ the hidage of which is given by later documents⁶ as 8, 4, 5, $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{3}{8}$, together 22 hides $3\frac{1}{2}$ virgates which is exactly $106-83\frac{1}{8}$. It certainly looks as if in this case the reduction from 106 to $83\frac{1}{8}$ was not a real reduction, but represented the lands held by Hugh.

¹ Population Return 1831 p. 564 notes t, u; 6-inch ord. map (1st edition). Berry hill is one of the boundary points in the charter. A later (golden) edition of the charter gives this hide as 'Slastede'; Birch, ii 256, No. 602; Monasticon, ii 437-8.

² They are identified by a pool, Stanchester field and Becketts on the north-west, Dell field, Bugmoor and a dike on the south-east. This was pointed out to me by the Rev. W. Eyre, rector of Swaraton cum Northington. The ordnance map puts the 700 a. in Mainsborough hundred, but the Population Return 1831 reckons all Northington parish as in Micheldever.

³ Birch, ii 260, No. 604; Kemble, No. 1081; Liber de Hyda, 101.

⁴ For more detail see Hants Field Club Papers, vi. 209. Wonston parish now includes Sutton Scotney and Cranbourne.

⁵ V.H. i. 418, 470 note 4; Inq. post mortem, i. 83, ii 79, 136, 12 Ed. I No. 13, 11 Ed. III No. 49, 21 Ed. III No. 57. The St Johns were Hugh's successors.

⁶ Monasticon, ii 426 e, 436, 437-8. The three lists vary a little; Rudborne gives Cranbourne $8\frac{1}{2}$ and in our copy of the (spurious) golden charter Popham has $8\frac{1}{2}$.

*The evidence of Domesday as to the New Forest*¹

The making of the New Forest has long been matter of controversy. As the old story ran, the death of William Rufus in the forest was said to be a judgment of heaven, because his father had driven out the inhabitants, ruined the churches, and reduced a flourishing district to a waste to make room for deer. So say all the annalists of the twelfth century under the year 1100 on the death of William Rufus, some with more rhetoric than others, and as to the devastation the general histories down to Mr. Freeman have followed them. But the local writers, Warner and Lewis and Mudie, Mr. Wise and Mr. Wilks, argue that this was a mistake or a calumny. They say that it does not agree with the Chronicle or with Domesday or with geology, and that no annalist says a word under the Conqueror's own reign of such evictions.² They say that the barren soil, the Domesday names, generally ending in -hurst, -wood or -ley, the light assessment to geld before the conquest and the low average value of the ploughland prove that the New Forest district was always poor and thinly inhabited. They argue further that churches were not destroyed, that only the woodland of each manor, not the arable, was taken for the forest and that the inhabitants were left to plough their lands in peace: because the Chronicle is silent; there are no ruins to be found of churches or villages; Milford and Brockenhurst both had churches in 1086, while two others at Hordle and Boldre were built soon afterwards; forests were generally dotted, though not thickly, with hamlets; and Domesday expressly mentions a certain number of inhabitants still left in the New Forest. On some of this evidence we cannot build much. The soil of the forest is poor, but for primitive farmers a light soil often had compensations. The names are woodland names, but that may point rather to late settlement than to the population in 1065-80. Other forests contained inhabitants, but this forest was distinguished above the others and may have had none.

For positive evidence we must depend upon Domesday, but the treatment of Domesday by the local historians is not satisfactory. Warner and Lewis, following Gough, tabulate the manors affected by the forest, showing the total assessment (they treat it as area) reduced from 210-20 hides to 70-5 and the total value from about £350 to 130-5, a reduction in each case of about two-thirds, while in many manors both assessment and value entirely disappear.³ Then they quietly put these large reductions on one side and, working on individual entries which tell us that in *some* places the woodland only was absorbed in the forest and in a few cases that part of the arable or meadow was left outside it, they go on happily to argue that only woodland was *anywhere* taken for the forest and very little harm was done to any one. The two sections of their Domesday evidence do not hang together and they make no real attempt to connect them or to distinguish between total and partial afforestation, while Mr. Wise

¹ From the English Hist. Review of July 1901.

² Gough's *Camden*, p. 129; Warner's *Hampshire*, i. (pt. 2), 37; Percival Lewis's *Historical Inquiry on Forest*, pp. 41, 167; Wise's *New Forest*, p. 20. Freeman's final views are given in the *Norman Conquest*, postscript to 2nd ed. (1876), of vol. iv. p. 858.

³ Sir H. Ellis took a very sound view of this evidence; *Gen. Introd.* to D.B. i. 109. The reduc-

tion was not all due to afforestation, for some of the T.R.E. hides were transferred to the Isle of Wight, e.g. 18 at Ringwood, and some released by favour, e.g. at Depedene and Mintestede, and probably also to Cola, the huntsman, at Langelie (50, b, 2, contrast another Langelie four places lower) and Adelingham, where 20 hogs can hardly cover 3 hides (50, a, 2).

boldly ignores the figures altogether, saying merely that 'two-thirds of the district was afforested.' The question has more than a local interest, for it touches both the character of William and also the character of our twelfth-century authorities, of whom some hard things have been said in this matter; let us see if it is not possible to get better evidence from Domesday by classifying the entries.

The district may be roughly treated as a square bounded on the west by the Avon, on the south and east by the coast and Southampton Water, and on the north by the county boundary. The villages named in Domesday are mainly on the outer edge of the square.¹ Some lie in the north-eastern corner.² In the north-western corner is a group of manors all called Truham, now Fritham; down the Avon there is a village to every mile from Fordingbridge to Thuinam (Christchurch); and there is a broad band of villages about four miles wide along the south coast. It will be convenient to divide the last into two strips, calling those within two miles or so of the sea the 'coast villages', and those further inland the 'Boldre-Fawley' villages. The only Domesday villages not on the outer edge of the square are in a narrow strip running from Boldre northwards through the middle of the forest to Lyndhurst and Minstead; these we will call the 'middle or Lyndhurst villages'.

In the middle of the forest, except in the Lyndhurst strip, there appear never to have been any villages. No Domesday names are to be found there and, if we examine the geological map, we shall feel pretty certain that the ten or twelve unidentified manors lay, not in the middle, but like the known villages toward the outside of the square. In the northern two-thirds of the forest district the surface is labelled in the geological map 'Bagshot Beds.' In the southern third these are overlaid by 'Headdon Beds.' The latter are largely coated with gravel, which has however been cut through wherever a brook runs down to the sea. On the Bagshot Beds we find no Domesday names and we have proof that this is a matter of soil, not of position, for in the north-west and north-east corners where the Bagshot Beds are capped with other soil we find villages at Fritham and at Netley, and the narrow line of villages through the middle of the forest is accounted for by a projection of the Headdon Beds which runs up to Lyndhurst, with outlying patches at Minstead. Moreover the Domesday villages avoided other bad soil, for we find none on the big patch of gravel which reaches from the Beaulieu nearly to the Lymington River and includes Lymington or Beaulieu Heath. The site of nearly every known village not on the Avon was on the Headdon Beds or the gravel, generally near a stream, and on the whole it is pretty clear that the middle of the forest, except the Lyndhurst strip, was always practically uninhabited.

¹ This is best shown by Mr. Round's Domesday map in the *Victoria History*. The northern side of the figure is really much shorter than the southern. Except one Fawley, 41, b, 2, possibly duplicating 51, a, 1, and one Sway, 44, a, 1, the forest villages, which form Bovre, Rodedic, and (most of) Rodbridge hundred, are grouped on 51, a, b, overflowing backwards to 50, b. The Avon villages and others affected in Egheiete, Sirlei and Fordingbridge hundreds (except Bistern and Crow, which were perhaps in Rodedic

hundred) are given among the general lands of the king and others; see ff. 38-9; Avere, 44, b, 46, a, 1; Bichetone, Tibeslei, 46, a, 1; Riple, 46, a, 2, 50, b, 1; Forde, 46, b, 2; Weringstone, 48, a, 2; Sopelie, 48, b, 2; Gerlei, 49, b, 1; Adelingham, 50, a, 2. Cantortune is inserted at the end of 50, b, 2, either because it had been previously forgotten or perhaps because it did not properly belong to Fordingbridge hundred.

² Tatchbury, Netley, Testwood, Buckholt, Eling, Durley, Marchwood, Dibden.

The Avon villages and the coast villages and also Eling and Dibden on the east were affected by the afforestation only in part, probably the part which ran back furthest from the river and the sea. Of these villages we are told in Domesday that one, two, or three virgates or hides, or else the woodlands, were 'in the forest.' The entries are of this kind: "A. holds Bermintune. It was assessed at 7 virgates. Now at 5 virgates, because the rest (or elsewhere 'the woodland') is in the forest. There is land for 3 ploughs. One is in demesne, and 3 villeins and 3 bordars have 2 ploughs. Value T.R.E. 40s.; now 20s.; what the king has 6s." The assessments and valuations are reduced, but the villages remain with their villeins and ploughs, though not perhaps with quite so many as before or quite so flourishing. These villages were all on the outer edge; we may call the parts of them afforested the 'border forest' and these villages the 'border villages;' a table of them is given on p. 204.

With the Boldre-Fawley villages, lying 2 to 4 miles from the coast, the Lyndhurst villages in the centre (except Brockenhurst), Fritham in the north-west, the north-eastern villages and some dozen places which cannot

N.E. and N.W. Villages.

	HID.	CAR.	S.		HID.	CAR.	S.
Tatchbury <i>Teocreberie</i> ...	2	[4]	40	Buckholt <i>Bocoll</i> ...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	6	100
Netley <i>Nullei</i> (2) ...	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	31	Fritham <i>Truam</i> (6) ...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	270
Testwood <i>Lesteorde</i> ...	1	[2]	40	Bedcot <i>Bedecole</i> ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	20

Middle or Lyndhurst Villages.

Minstead <i>Mintestece</i> ...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	[7]	160	Brockenhurst <i>Brocerte</i> ...	(see below)		
Lyndhurst <i>Linhest</i> ...	2	[6]	120	Brockley <i>Brochelic</i> ...	2	6	20?
Greatnam <i>Gretcham</i> ...	1	[2]	40	Hinkelsley <i>Hincelveslei</i> ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	20

Southern or Boldre-Fawley Villages.

a Fawley <i>Falegia</i> ...	2	[4]	60	r Boldre <i>Bovre</i> ...	2	4	60
do. <i>Falcie</i> ...	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	12	50	s Boldreford <i>Bovreford</i> ...	1	[2]	200?
c Hardley <i>Herdelei</i> ...	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	30	u Pilley <i>Pistelei</i> (3) ...	2	4?	55
e Gatewood <i>Gatingeorde</i> ...	2	5	45	v Batramsley <i>Batramelei</i> ...	2	5	60
i Otterwood <i>Oltreorde</i> ...	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	5	51	w Yaldhurst <i>Cildeest</i> ...	5	8	160
m Hartford <i>Hariforde</i> ...	1	4	25	x Wootton <i>Odetone</i> ...	1	2	40
n 'Roweste' ? ...	1	2	15	z Ossemley <i>Oselei</i> ...	2	4?	60

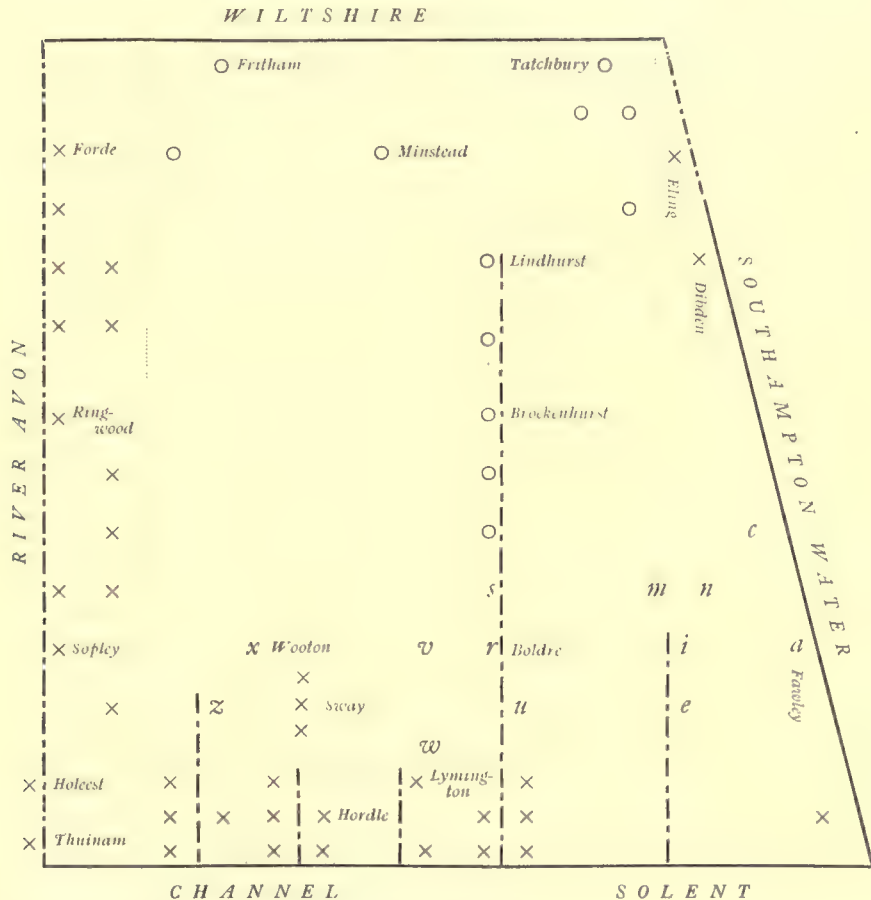
Villages not identified, probably southern.

<i>Achelic</i> (2) ...	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	6?	90	<i>Cocherlei</i> ...	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	60
<i>Scrive</i> ...	3	8	200	<i>Oxelic</i> ...	2	4	40
<i>Alwintune</i> ...	2	4	100	<i>Wigarestun</i> ...	1	2	5?
<i>Bile</i> (2) ...	2	4	80	<i>Slacham</i> ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	25
<i>Sanhest</i> ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	20	<i>Nameless</i> (2) ...	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	27 $\frac{1}{2}$

There was left in 1086: at Fawley, 1 virg., 1 car., 15s.; at Minstead, 2 virg., 1 car., 20s.; at Lyndhurst, 1 virg., 10s.; at Testwood, $\frac{1}{4}$ virg., 3s.; at Batramsley, $\frac{1}{2}$ virg. The Brockenhurst entry is exceptional—T.R.E. 1 hid., T.R.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ hid.; in demesne 1 plough, and 6 bordars and 4 slaves with 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs; a church and woodland of 20 hogs; value T.R.E. 40s. and afterwards and now 4l.

now be found it is different. These are described as being, except a few acres of meadow and an occasional ploughland, entirely in the forest. The descriptions we have of them in 1065 are given opposite; in 1086, except for fragments left outside the forest at Minstead, Lyndhurst and Fawley, the assessment of these villages is wiped out, their values disappear and no word is said in Domesday of any villen or bordar at

Diagram of the New Forest district



a c c i ... z Southern Villages wholly afforested.

○ ○ ○ Other " wholly "

× × × Border " partially "

----- Rivers and Streams.

----- Boundary of 'Main Forest.'

work in them. The entries are of this type: "B. held Childeest (Yaldhurst). It was assessed at 5 hides. Now it is (or 'is wholly') in the forest, except 2 acres of meadow, which A. holds. There was land for 8 ploughs. The value was 8*l*." What was the condition in 1065 of these villages which were thus absorbed in what we may call the main forest? The Boldre-Fawley villages were spread over a strip more than ten miles long by about two wide, say 12,000 to 15,000 acres. But from this we must deduct some 4,000 acres between the Beaulieu and Lyminster Rivers, in which there were no villages, leaving about 9000 or 10,000 acres.

Much of the land as geology has told us was poor, for while the average value of a ploughland in Hants is over 20s., in many of these villages taken into the main forest the ploughlands were worth only 10s. to 15s., perhaps really a good bit less, for a considerable part of the T.R.E. valuations probably came from swine. But to these villages Domesday assigns in 1065 some 60 ploughlands, which would represent at only 100 acres apiece about 6,000 acres of arable, more than half of the whole area. This is not a ridiculous proportion, which would be increased if any of the unidentified manors lay, as is probable, in this strip of country.

What do we learn of the population? In the Avon villages Domesday gives on the average about four, and in the coast villages about three, villeins and bordars to a working plough in 1086, and we may fairly assume that this proportion, which is about the average for England, held good in 1065 in the rest of the district. Now, allowing for gaps in the record, the villages absorbed by the main forest had altogether in 1065 some 150 ploughlands, so that taking three men to a plough these villages presumably contained from 450 to 500 villeins and bordars. Taking 4 to a family we get 2,000 men, women and children as about the number at which we may probably estimate the agricultural population in 1065 of the district afterwards occupied by the main forest. This estimate allows nothing for slaves or personal retainers or men working under the villeins; it only represents the occupiers of land, in whom alone, apart from churches and churchmen, the authorities or the chroniclers were likely to take much interest. The total may not seem to us a large one for five and thirty villages, but more than half of them had four, six or eight ploughlands, and we know from Domesday that in the eleventh century a village with five ploughlands and twelve or fifteen families was a respectable village for any county in England.

What happened to these five hundred families? We can infer nothing from the absence of ruins, for in this district the houses would certainly, and the Saxon churches most likely, be of wood. The villages of 1065 stood, as we have seen, on the edges of the main forest or in the Lyndhurst strip, where any foundations or other earth-marks would be smothered by the signs of more modern habitation. As to the churches at Fordingbridge, Ringwood, Holdenhurst, Milton, Hordle, Fawley and Eling, the forest only took part of these and other Avon and coast manors; in these villages much, if not most, of the population remained and no doubt also the churches. A church was left in the main forest at Brockenhurst, but that seems in other ways to have been an exceptional manor. We do not know the history of the church built later at Boldre, but we do know that enclosure began there very early.¹

The annalists say that the inhabitants of the forest were driven out, and as to the main forest the statement is entirely confirmed by Domesday. In no manor, either on f. 51 or on f. 39, which is said to be 'wholly in the forest' or simply 'in the forest' is mention made in 1086 of any villein or bordar or of any value, and it is plainly because the land was in the forest that there is no value. The very first entry on f. 51 runs thus: "The king held and holds 1 hide in Achelie. Then it was assessed at 1 hide, now at nothing. T.R.E. and afterwards the value was 50s., now

¹ Woodward's *Hist. of Hampshire* iii. 44.

it is in the forest." The bishop's entries which follow are similar.¹ As to the ploughlands the evidence is even stronger. Again and again in the main forest entries we have the unusual phrase 'there *was* land for *n* ploughs.'² Clearly there '*is*' in 1086 no land fit for ploughing. It can hardly be argued that the ploughs and values were only gone from the record, not from the land, and that men or ploughs or values taken 'into the forest,' being no more available for taxation present or future, went altogether out of the Domesday world, for that does not agree with the compiler's practice in other forest entries on the same page. While for lands taken into the main forest he gives no *valet* at all, he does not forget to tell us in most of the partially afforested manors on f. 51 that the value of 'what the king has' (in the forest) is 6*s.*, or 4*s.*, or even 2*s.*

Among the king's lands on f. 39, at Linhest, once two hides, 'there is nothing now but two bordars' on one virgate; at Slacham, 'when Ralf de Limesi received it, there *were* three villeins with one plough; it *was* worth 2*s.*' Surely the villeins are gone in 1086? Eight lines further the survey carefully records 1½ acre of meadow left in 1086, yet there is no word of a villein. At Minstead and at Fawley, which have in 1086 one ploughland apiece with some men and value, these ploughlands, men and values clearly represent, not the land taken into the forest, but that left outside it.

The absence of T.R.W. valuations in the main forest is further emphasised by the changes from one formula to another. Let *f* represent the manors entirely 'in the forest,' and *c* the manors on the coast, afforested only in part. Let *t* stand for descriptions such as 'there *was* land for 3 ploughs, the value *was* 40*s.*,' without any mention of villeins or value in 1086; let *x* represent descriptions of the type 'there is land for 4 ploughs, 3 villeins and 4 bordars have 3 ploughs, value T.R.E. 40*s.*, now 20*s.*, *what the king has* 6*s.*;' and let *v* represent similar descriptions, but without the final clause in italics. Now let us take the lands of Earl Roger, which seem to be carefully described. The places succeed each other thus: *cc c f ccc ccc c cc*; the corresponding descriptions are *xx vt t xv x xxx xxx x*. Going on down the page we have manors *cc f f f f c f* and descriptions *xx t t t t v t*. Wherever in successive entries there is here a change from partial to complete afforestation, or *vice versa*, there is a corresponding change in the description; *t* always corresponds to *f* and to *f* only; we may also particularly notice the number of cases (*x*) among the partially afforested manors in which a value is put on 'what the king has' in the forest. It is clear that the absence of any mention of men or of value in 1086 in a whole class, the whole of the main forest entries, implies the actual absence in 1086 of any men or value, and that the entries for the main forest entirely agree with the tradition that the ground was cleared of its inhabitants.

The Domesday holdings cited by Mr. Wise as being in the forest in

¹ It is not merely because the land afforested passed from private hands to the king that the value in 1086 drops out, for it equally drops out at Achelic, which was held by the king before afforestation.

² In Fordingbridge hundred on f. 39 and in the first four entries (king and bishop) on f. 51 we have the common form 'terra est *n* car.' The compiler may well have hesitated to change

it, for the actual land was still there. But after that out of thirty entries of land taken entirely into the forest twenty-six have either 'terra fuit' or simply 'terra *n* car.' without a verb, which is in Hants equally unusual. In four cases—Bocolt, Gatingeorde, one Truham and Nutlei—the compiler slips back to 'terra est;' but it is easy to slip back to the common form. None of the translations mark these differences correctly.

1086 amount in the main forest to very little.¹ Most of his cases are partially afforested manors on the Avon or on the coast. Others are holdings of two, four or six acres of meadow specially excepted from the forest, which probably do not imply even one house. Others are held by foresters. Brockenhurst seems to have been a specially favoured spot, in 1086 it had $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, villeins, 80s. value and a church, but this only emphasises the absence of ploughs, men and value in other entries. The other arable holdings embedded in the main forest are one virgate held by a forester at Lyndhurst out of two hides, $\frac{1}{2}$ hide with four bordars at Minstead out of $3\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ hide at Fawley out of $3\frac{3}{4}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$ virgate at Testwood, all of which except Lyndhurst are on the outer edge. The value left in these villages was 48s. out of £21. A forester also held $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate at Batramsley. Excluding Brockenhurst and some scattered bits of meadow, Domesday gives in the main forest in 1086 only $1\frac{1}{16}$ hide, 3 or 4 ploughlands and 48s. out of 57 hides covering some 150 ploughlands valued at £121. There is nothing here to interfere with the previous evidence or with the conclusion that William did (with slight exceptions) clear off the villeins in the main forest and turn the arable into waste. On the contrary the mention of these holdings and these only in 1086 strongly supports such a conclusion. In 1065 Fawley and Minstead were good-sized villages; why is one ploughland and one only given to each in 1086, unless the rest was waste? What other sense can we attach to such phrases as this at Pistelei and a dozen other places on f. 51: 'Now it is in the forest, except 2 (or 4 or 6) acres of meadow, which A. holds?' If there was no change in the condition of lands taken into the forest, why are these scraps of meadow specially excepted? The $\frac{1}{2}$ virg. at Batramsley was not even held by the former owner, but by a forester; while at Lyndhurst, once valued at £6, we have the positive statement of Domesday that 'there is there now nothing but two bordars.'

If it be said that these villages cannot have been swept away in 1086 because some of them survive to the present day, the answer is that many have not survived and that for the survival of the others Domesday appears to furnish a reason. Achelie, Selive, Alwintune, Bile, Sanhest, Cocherlei, Oxelie, Roweste, Wigareston, Slacham are not identified,² or very doubtfully, by the joint efforts of Mr. Moody and Mr. Round, though five of them had four or more ploughlands in 1065. Of those that can still be placed, Brockley with six ploughlands became a tithing of the originally much smaller Brockenhurst; Buckholt near Dibden is not on the map; Hinkelsley is only a house; Greatnam near Lyndhurst only names a wood. Otterwood and Gatewood, near Exbury, with five ploughlands each, Yald-

¹ Brockenhurst proves little except that the owner was a favoured person, which is confirmed by the four previous entries. Some of Mr. Wise's references (pp. 26-8) to Domesday are misleading. As proof that 'in the heart of the forest the villeins and bordars still worked [in 1086] as before' he refers to Lyndhurst; but the entry (39, a, 1) says, 'there is nothing there now but two bordars; value now 10s.; T.R.E. 6l.' He entirely misquotes Minstead, turning 'terra' into 'woods.' He says that Saulf still held land at Batramsley and Aluric at Oxley, but it was in each case only four acres of meadow left out of two hides (51, b, 2).

² There is a Rowdown and Rollstone (? Roweston) Farm near Fawley, an Oxley's Coppice near Otterwood, a Sandydown near Boldre, a Cockley Hill in Mr. Wise's map west of Eyworth. But these are only my guesses. Bile, with 8 a. meadow, may also stand for an existing name. Selive can hardly be, as Mr. Moody suggests, (High)cliff, separated from the main forest by Hubborn, Hinton, Bashley and Milton. Perhaps it has lost a letter; can it be Setley or Shirley Holmes, near Boldre, or Shirley in Ripley which is spelt Schele in 1300 (Lewis, p. 176)? All these sites are similar in position and (except the last) in soil to the identified villages.

hurst (Childeest) near Lymington with eight, and Hartford near Beaulieu are now only known as farms, perhaps comparatively modern, for none of them is mentioned in the claims of 1670. The names would be preserved by the natural features in which they originated and there was always the chance of a forester's house. Wooton was only a farm in the uncorrected ordnance map of 1876. Only Minstead, Lyndhurst, Brockenhurst, Fawley and Boldre are given by the map in anything but the smallest type. Of these the first four had something special to keep them alive, for in each of them there was a certain quantity of arable not taken into the forest, while at Boldre enclosures appear to have been made very early.¹ Domesday seems to carry the evidence even further. Of the identified manors four had arable, while Boldre, Pilley, Batramsley, Wooton, Yaldhurst and Ossemley had pieces of meadow not taken into the forest. On the other hand, in the semi-extinct Buckholt, Hartford, Otterwood, Gatewood, Hinkelsley and Greatnam and in eight of the ten lost villages, absolutely nothing was left outside the forest. Hardley alone really survived without meadow. It certainly looks as if survival depended mainly on there being some scrap of land which was not 'in the forest,' to which the name could attach and on which a cottage or two could later be built, all land 'in the forest' being absolutely cleared. Within the limits of the main forest the taxation of 1291 gives no church (besides Beaulieu) except at Fawley, which was early taken out of the forest, at Minstead with a chapel at Lyndhurst and at Boldre with a chapel at Brockenhurst.

Hitherto we have been dealing with the main forest; what happened in the border forest taken from the villages on the Avon and the coast and from Eling and Dibden is not so clear. The woodland (not implying trees) appears to have been taken and with it a good many ploughlands and houses, either scattered in the woodland as at Hordle and Thuinam² or adjoining it, but Domesday does not enable us to say how many. The assessment of the border manors is reduced in all by some 50 hides, but we cannot tell how much of the reduction was given as compensation for arable and how much for woodland.³ In the border manors the actual villages with a good part, generally the greater part, of the arable were plainly left out of the forest,⁴ being in most, though perhaps not in all cases, left outside its outer limits.⁵ Some three-quarters of the inhabitants in the border villages were left in comparative peace and probably retained rights of common over the parts afforested. There were sixty villeins and bordars on the lands taken into the forest at Ringwood, Holdenhurst (Holeest), Christchurch (Thuinam), Hordle and Eling, and possibly there may have been in all as many as 150 or even 200 families, say 500 to 800 persons, on the lands absorbed in the border forest, but the fate of these families cannot be determined with any certainty from the Domesday

¹ Woodward's *Hist. of Hampshire*, iii. 44.

² In the woodland of Thuinam 'there were T.R.E. 5 villeins with 3 ploughs.' In that of Herdel 'there were dwelling 6 men.' D.B. 39 a 1, 51 a 2.

³ Lentune is reduced from 1 hide to $\frac{1}{2}$, 'because the woodland is in the forest.' In Avere (46, a, 1), Weringetone (48, a, 2), Sopelie (48, b, 2), Mildetune (50, b, 2) and William of Eu's manor on 51, a, 2 the number of hides 'in the forest' is less than the total reduction, leaving something

to represent loss of woodland; but it seems to count for nothing at Avere (44, b, 1), Forde (46, b, 2), and Riple (46, a, 2; 50, b, 1).

⁴ In a third of these manors however the hidage was reduced by about one-half, occasionally more.

⁵ The woodland taken may in some cases have been detached from the village to which it belonged. Holeest (Holdenhurst) is two miles west of the Avon and some of the coast villages seem to be cut off from the forest by other manors.

evidence; perhaps they were not all treated alike. In the border forest swine were not excluded; woodland of 6 swine at Derleie stands for 7s.,¹ of 20 swine at Mildetune for 20s.,¹ of 6 swine at Esselei for 5s.,² of 4 at or near Utefel for 4s, and this would make the woodland worth about as many shillings as the number of rent swine received from it.³ Judged by this standard there may have been no men or ploughs left at Ringwood,⁴ but it would seem that some were left at Holdenhurst⁵ and also probably at Ellingham.⁶

To sum up the evidence, the story which Domesday has to tell us of the forest is this. William found in a corner of Hampshire 75,000 acres practically uninhabited. Of these 75,000 acres he made a forest, if they were not a forest before, and he enlarged this forest by taking into it some twenty villages and a dozen hamlets, covering from 20,000 to 25,000 acres, more than half arable, including not only the land of 20 ploughs in the middle of the forest running from Minstead to Brockenhurst and Hinkelsley, but also on the edges the land of some 20 ploughs round Fritham in the north-west corner, of some 15 ploughs at Buckholt, Testwood, Netley Marsh and Tatchbury in the north-east, of some 60 ploughs on the south between Wooton, Boldre and Fawley, and of some 35 ploughs in villages now lost, but which probably lay mainly in the south. It is not certain whether these additions date from the time when he first used as a forest the 75,000 uninhabited acres or whether they were made later,⁷ but from these 150 ploughlands he cleared off the population amounting to some 500 families or about 2,000 men, women and children. He thus formed what we have called the main forest, the limits of which corresponded roughly to the outer boundary of the present forest. To protect the deer there were further annexed on the borders of this main forest other 10,000 to 20,000 acres, mainly woodland, but including probably 500 inhabitants whose fate is doubtful.⁸

This story agrees entirely with that in the continuation of William of Jumièges, which says that William 'destroyed many villages and churches

¹ f. 50, b, 2.

² f. 51, b, 2.

³ Store pigs before they were fatted with grain were in 1260-90 worth 1 to 2s. (Thorold Rogers' Hist. of Agricul. i. 338 and tables) so that 1s. a head seems a fair value for villeins' pigs in 1086; see Eyton, Domesday Studies, Somerset i. 43, V. H. Somerset i. 425.

⁴ 'On 4 hides which are in the forest there dwelled 14 villeins and 3 bordars with 7 teams, and (was) a mill of 30d. and woodland of 189 swine from pannage. This which the king has is worth 7l. 10s. by tale.' f. 39, a, 1.

⁵ Holest; '3½ (7) hides are in the new forest' on which 'there were dwelling 13 villeins and 3 bordars with 8 teams; and with these hides is, outside the manor, woodland of 129 swine from pannage... what is in the forest is appraised at 12l. 10s.' f. 39, a, 1. The value at Edlinges (39, a, 1) may include '2 berewicks in Wight', while at Thuinam and Herdel no swine are given.

⁶ Adelingham; 'assessment (T.R.E.) 5½ hides, now 1½... Value T.R.E. and afterwards 7l. now 70s. Of this manor 1 hide is in the king's forest and as much woodland as produced (*unde exibant*) 20 swine from pannage. All this *val[et]*?' 70s.' f. 50, a, 2. The value of woodland afforested is generally given without a verb or by the

possibly ambiguous *val.* (cf. the *ten.* of Ranulf Flambart on f. 51, a, 2), but at Esselei (51, b, 2) it is clearly *val[et]*. At Rocheford (46, a, 1) the woodland 'was worth 30s.' and it may be that in some other cases these values are not values of 1086, but mere statements of account, for the value of 'what the king has' often just makes up the difference between the valuations of 1065 and 1086; but often again it is not so.

⁷ If we may interpret the entries on f. 51, a, 1 strictly, it was after 1070, when Walchelin became Bishop of Winchester; but it is possible that the bishop who 'held' Fawley etc. (T.R.E.) was really his predecessor. The valuations 'post' seen in some cases to be after afforestation, e.g. Staneude, Herdel and Mintestede, ff 38. b. 2, 51. a. 2, b. 2.

⁸ The forest was later extended right up to the shore and the Avon stream (perambulation 8 Ed. I, Lewis, p. 173). But in the perambulation of 29 Ed. I all the border villages were thrown out again, and with them apparently those parts of them which had been taken by William to make the border forest. The outer boundary of the present forest takes in 92,000 acres (Lewis, p. 64), but Tatchbury, Netley and Fawley are now outside it.

to enlarge the forest;'¹ the wasting of thirty villages and hamlets with say twelve or fifteen churches would well satisfy the description. Florence says that in the forest district, which before *incolis et ecclesiis nitebat uberrime*, the men were driven out, the churches destroyed, and game only left. The force of a base Latin superlative is rather doubtful; to call the villages afforested *rich* would be strong, but the writer may perhaps have meant no more than 'full of men, churches, and produce,' which is no great exaggeration, if we apply it as we have seen that it ought to be applied, not to the 75,000 uninhabited acres, but to the inhabited 20,000 acres of extension.

Orderic ought as to the bare fact of devastation to be a good witness, for in 1080-5 he was a boy in the household of Earl Roger, who had a dozen manors partly, and two wholly afforested; of the details or extent of the devastation Orderic would then know nothing, for he was only ten when he left England in 1085. He tells the tale with much more rhetoric; speaks of (apparently) the whole district as *populosa regio*; talks of careful cultivation by a *copiosa plebs*, who supplied Winchester with agricultural produce (*campestri ubertate*, perhaps pork²); and says that 'more than sixty parishes' were wasted. He does not distinguish between total and partial afforestation and is perhaps counting the names, about sixty, entered in Domesday on f51 under the heading 'In Nova Foresta et circa eam;' the story has decidedly grown and it was not diminished in the hands of the later annalists.

There is no phrase in Florence and perhaps none in Orderic or the later annalists which cannot in some way be interpreted so as to agree fairly with Domesday³; but they gave no thought to the exact position of the wasted villages and their general tone suggests that they took all the 95,000 or 115,000 acres afforested to have been previously inhabited. The local historians are quite right to protest that the whole forest can never have been covered with villages. The amount of devastation was much exaggerated both by the tradition and by most of the general histories, but the clearances, though limited, were real enough and wasted villages along the north side and along the south side and through the middle of the forest might easily be taken by a mapless generation to represent the district as a whole. Apparently the evictions were not in the opinion of the annalists so large, compared with the devastation caused by the conquest in other parts, as to call for special mention in summing up the Conqueror's reign and character; but when his son was killed in the forest there was more than enough for men to say that this death was a judgment from heaven, a story which would specially appeal to the medieval historian.⁴

¹ 'Multas villas et ecclesias propter eandem forestam amplificandam in circuitu ipsius destruxerat.' viii. 9.

² In 1220 there is talk of sending hogs from Bramshaw to the 'larderium' at Winchester (Woodward's Hampshire, iii. 39).

³ William Rufus was by tradition killed between Minstead and Fritham. Perhaps even the churches said to be destroyed—thirty-six by

Walter Mapes, and twenty-two by Knighton—had their ultimate source in Domesday. It would be quite possible to count those manors on f. 51, a, b, which were taken entirely into the forest as thirty-six, and the larger ones as twenty-two.

⁴ The Chronicle, Florence and Orderic are all quoted at length in Freeman, 2nd ed. (1876), iv. 841, n. 55. Quotations from other writers are collected in Gough's Camden, i. 129.

COAST VILLAGES PARTLY ABSORBED IN THE FOREST

MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES		TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS		MEN		
	1065	1086		1065	post	1086	dem	men	vill	bor	serv
Hinton ¹	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$		1	3	...	...
<i>Hentune</i>						($\frac{3}{20}$)					
do.	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	3	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	...	2	6	...	...
		($\frac{1}{4}$)				($\frac{3}{20}$)					
Beckley	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	4	1	[1]	$\frac{3}{4}$	...	2	4	...	...
<i>Bichelei</i>		($\frac{1}{4}$)				($\frac{1}{4}$)					
<i>Beceslei</i> ²	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	2	$\frac{3}{4}$	[$\frac{3}{4}$]	$\frac{1}{5}$	...	1	3	...	...
Fernhill	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	1	$\frac{1}{20}$	[$\frac{2}{5}$]	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	1	...	...
<i>Fernchelle</i>		($\frac{1}{2}$)				($\frac{3}{20}$)					
Milton	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	2	2	1	1	2	5	...	1
<i>Mildctune</i>		— ²				(1)					
Ashley	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	[2 $\frac{1}{2}$]	1	1?	2	2	10	...
<i>Esselie</i>		($\frac{1}{4}$)				($\frac{6}{20}$)					
<i>Esselei</i>	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	1?	2	3
		— ³				($\frac{1}{4}$)					
Hordle	5	4	5	8	5	5	...	4	6	9	...
<i>Herdel</i>		(1)				(3)			(6)		
Milford	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	4		6
<i>Melleforde</i>						($\frac{1}{2}$)					
Lymington	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	...	1	1	3	2
<i>Leulune</i>											
Arnewood ⁵	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 $\frac{4}{5}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		1	1	9	...
<i>Ernemude</i>						($\frac{1}{5}$)					
Sway ⁵	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	1	1	1	...	2	2	...	...
<i>Sveia</i>		($\frac{1}{4}$)									
<i>Svei</i>	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	$\frac{9}{20}$	$\frac{9}{20}$	$\frac{9}{20}$	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	4	...
		($\frac{1}{4}$)				($\frac{2}{20}$)					
do.	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	1	[1]	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	1	2	...	...
		($\frac{3}{4}$)				($\frac{3}{4}$)					
do.	1?	$\frac{1}{4}$	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	2	...	...	5	...
Birmingham ⁴	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	2	3	3	2
<i>Bermintune</i>		($\frac{1}{2}$)				($\frac{6}{20}$)					
do.	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	[1]	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	1	...
		($\frac{1}{2}$)				($\frac{6}{20}$)					
Walhampton	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	...	1	1
<i>Wolnelune</i>						($\frac{1}{5}$)					
Baddesley	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	1	...	...	$\frac{3}{20}$	...	1	1	3	...
<i>Bedeslei</i>		($\frac{3}{4}$)									
Stanswood	2	1	7	10	7	7	1	7	13	20	4
<i>Staneude</i>		(1)									
	26 $\frac{5}{8}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	46	37 $\frac{1}{2}$		25 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	31	58	70	19

¹ Except one Sway, held by Romsey, and the royal Stanswood, all these coast villages are on ff 50 b 2-51 b 2. The figures in brackets () give, when it is mentioned, the hidage absorbed in the forest (besides woodland) and the value of 'what the King has in the forest.'

² The forest had taken 'wood of 20 swine.'

³ The forest had taken 'wood of 8 swine.'

⁴ This reduction seems a special privilege.

⁵ Arnewood, Sway and Birmingham are more than 2 miles inland.

VILLAGES ON THE AVON PARTLY ABSORBED IN THE FOREST

FIEF	MODERN NAMES DOMESDAY NAMES	HIDES			TEAM LANDS	VALUE			TEAMS demmen	MEN		
		1065	1086			1065	post	1086		vill	bor	serv
28	Fordingbridge ...	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	2		3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 1	...	13	...
	Forde ...		($\frac{3}{4}$)					(1)				
22	Bikton ...	4 $\frac{1}{8}$	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	4		5	5	3	1 3	4	10	4
	Bichetone ...											
68	Goreley ...	1	1	...		1	[1]	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	3	2
	Gerlei ...		($\frac{1}{2}$)					($\frac{1}{8}$)				
{ forest	Harbridge ...	5	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	4		4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 4	8	2	...
51 b 1	Herdebrige ...											
23	Ibsley ...	4	2	5		4	2	3	2 3	6	10	3
46 a 1	Tibeslei ...		(2)					(1)				
69	Ellingham ...	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5		7	7	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	7	5
50 a 2	Adelingeam ...		(1)					(3 $\frac{1}{2}$)				
23	Rockford ...	2	1	2		3	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 1	7	9	6
46 a 1	Rocheford ...							(1)				
1	Ringwood ¹ ...	10	6	16	[16]	16		8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 13	56	21	8
39 a 1	Rincuede ...		(4)	(7)				(7 $\frac{1}{2}$)	(7)	(14)	(6)	
forest	Crowe ...	2	2	2		2	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	...	2	4	5
51 b 2	Crone ...											
forest	Bistern ...	3	2	3		3	[3]	2	1 2	5	4	...
51 b 2	Belestre ...		(1)									
21	Avon ...	1	1	1		1 $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	...	2	...
23	Avere ...	8	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	4		10	8	5	3 4	9	6	4
46 a 1			(1 $\frac{5}{8}$)					(5)				
23	Ripley 46 a 2 ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	...		1	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	...	3	...
69	Riple ...	5	2	2		8	[8]	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 2	...	8	4
50 b 1			(3)					(5)				
51	Sopley ...	7	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	2	10	2		2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ³	1 2	3	6	1
	Sopelie ...		(4)					(5 $\frac{1}{2}$)				
45	Winkton ...	7	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	10	7		4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 4	14	7	...
	Weringetone ...		(1 $\frac{1}{8}$)					(5 $\frac{1}{2}$)				
1	Christchurch ⁴ ...	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	13	19	19		10	2 12	21	5	1
38 b 2	Thuinam ...		(3)					(12 $\frac{1}{2}$)	(3)	(5)		
1	Holdenhurst ⁵ ...	22 $\frac{1}{8}$	18 $\frac{5}{8}$	20	[34]	34		24 ⁶	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ 19	37	25	14
39 a 1	Holeest ...		(3 $\frac{1}{2}$)	(8)				(12 $\frac{1}{2}$)	(8)	(13)	(3)	...
		90 $\frac{1}{4}$	53 $\frac{1}{8}$	89	142			81	28 77	185	145	50

NORTH-EASTERN VILLAGES

{ forest	Dibden ...	5	2 $\frac{6}{8}$	4	10	8	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹	...	5	4	15	...
51 b 1	Depedene ...		(3)									
50 b 2	Durley Derleie ...	$\frac{1}{4}$ ²	$\frac{1}{4}$	...		$\frac{1}{2}$	[$\frac{1}{2}$]	$\frac{3}{4}$ ⁷	...	1	2	...
51 a 1	Testwood Lesteorde ...	1	$\frac{1}{16}$	...		2	2	$\frac{3}{4}$ ⁸	...	...	3	...
1	Eling ...	?	...	20	38	38	20	5 7	13	43	13	
38 b 2	Edlinges ...						(26)		(16)	(3)		

¹ Ringwood paid no geld T.R.W.; it returned 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. of 20d. to the ounce; it included T.R.E. 18 hides 'in Wit'; a 'radchenist' had also $\frac{1}{2}$ team.

² Bistern paid on only 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hide.

³ Sopley returned 5l.

⁴ Thuinam returned 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ l.; '31 mansuræ in burgo' render 16d. 'de gablo'; '3 coliberti et

4 radchenisti' had also 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ teams.

⁵ Holeest, valued at 24l. by tale, returned 25l. of 20d. to the ounce. T.R.E. it included other 7 hides 'in the island.'

⁶ Dibden paid geld as 1 hide; it rendered 5l.

⁷ Wood of 10 swine had been taken.

⁸ Eling paid half a days farm.

APPENDIX A.

ON THE DOMESDAY VALUATIONS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WILLIAM'S MARCH FROM HASTINGS TO LONDON.¹

It is convenient to treat the Domesday valuations in all the south-eastern counties together. The most striking feature of these valuations is the fact that in a large number of entries there is great reduction of value between 1065 or T.R.E. and 'post' or 'quando receptum,' which may be taken here as 1067, but that in other entries there is no reduction at all or very little. The reductions have always been attributed to the conquest, but without any general explanation being given as to why they are found in some places and not in others; yet there must be some reason for their distribution.

Attention was long ago called to the connexion between the movements of the two armies before the battle of Hastings and the wasted lands in that rape mentioned by Domesday. During the fortnight spent at Hastings the Normans would inevitably waste the country round in their foraging, if not on purpose, and the loss of value in other places near by, e.g. Catsfield and Hooe which fell from £4 to 1 and from £25 to 6, was clearly due to the same cause. But the principle deserves to be carried further and may well be applied to William's march on London. We know that he harried the country as he passed and Domesday gives us for most manors the value just before and just after the Conquest, so that we ought by these signs to be able to track his footsteps.² The attempt is worth making, for the account left by his chaplain, William of Poitiers, is meagre.

Let us start at Romney, William's first point on his way from Hastings to Dover. After each manor named shall be placed first the value in pounds given by Domesday for 1065, secondly that for 1067, and thirdly that for 1086; where several entries are combined the number is noted in square brackets. We go five miles east to Burmarsh (20-10-30), then ten miles, a day's march, to Folkestone (120-40-159). Here, from the large depreciation, some part of the army appears to have remained; four neighbouring manors³ also were together valued in 1065 at £49, but in 1067 at £20. Seven miles further bring us to the gates of Dover. There William stayed for a week, and accordingly we find the record of great destruction, the value in 1065 of ten manors⁴ lying north and east of Dover being £157½, but in 1067 only £43. Then he moved northward, but was stopped by illness

¹ From the Eng. Hist. Rev. (1898) xiii 17, with some additions and alterations.

² A-S Chron. (*Worc.*): "He . . . hergode ealne ðeore ende the he overferde oðr thaet he com to Beorhhamstede."

³ Postling (10-5-14), Saltwood (Hythe) (16 8 29), Newington (12-3-12), Eastwell 13 b. 2 (11-4-8).

⁴ Ewell (12-5-10), Shebbertswell (8-2-8), Colred and Popeshall (11-2-11), Waldershare (7½-3-7), 'Pesinges' in E. Langdon (5-0-6), Mongeham (22 10 26), Norbourn (80-20-76), 'Gollesberge' (12-1-9½). Small manors near larger ones are not always mentioned either here or later.

for a day or two. The main body seems to have advanced to Patricxbourne (18-10-19) and Bekesbourne (12-7-12) and to have raided east of Canterbury to Littlebourne (25-20-32), Preston 12 b (10-6-14), Sturry (50-45-50) and Chislet (53-40-78). The whole country between Canterbury and the south coast is ravaged, but amid the general destruction there are some notable exceptions. The archiepiscopal estates, Adisham¹ (40/), Wingham (77/), Bishopsbourne (20/), Ickham (22/), Westgate (Estursete, 24/), Chartham (12/) and Petham (17/) show no loss (p. 215). Were they spared to conciliate the church or to tempt the archbishop at a critical moment; or did the "*post*" and "*quando receptum*" of these entries refer, not to 1067, but to a date after the deposition of Stigand in 1070 or his death in 1072?²

The figures round Canterbury, compared with those near Dover, show that in spite of his illness William did not halt for more than a day or two, but pressed on as his chaplain tells us for London.³ He took, not the old Roman road through Rochester, but the road by Maidstone. The army concentrated at Lenham (28-16-28).⁴ Twelve miles further a group of four manors west of Maidstone,⁵ T.R.E. £36 later 21, seems to mark the next camp. Another eight miles bring him to Seal⁶ (Lasela) (30-16-24). The damage recorded in Kent exactly fits our other information; east of a line through Faversham and Ashford the whole country (except Thanet) is ravaged, most near Dover where William stopped longest, less by Canterbury where he halted, but not so long. West of this line I find no considerable reductions in value besides those noticed⁷ and it is clear that, in Kent at all events, depreciation just after the conquest was due to the passage of the Norman Army. It is clear too that we must not necessarily expect Domesday to show loss of value in *all* villages near the line of march. Where the Normans lingered on their way the loss will be widely spread, but where they pressed forward it may be on only a narrow line or even confined to their nightly halting-places. We have now tested the Domesday evidence and may follow it where other information is vague or lacking. In the reconstruction of William's march from the Domesday valuations there must be an element of conjecture, but to avoid the wearisome repetition of 'seem' and 'appear' it will be best to write as if with certainty.

From Seal William marched through Westerham (30-24-40) to Limpsfield (20-15-24), Oxstead (16-10-14), Tandridge (6-2-11) and Godstone ('Wachelstede,' 29-16-20), which cover the northern end of the road leading through the Andredsweald to his original base at

¹ D. B. 5 a 2; the others 3 b.

² Cf. Pirton 157 a 2; Eng. Hist. Rev. xiii 296 n.

³ "Noluit indulgere sibi moras ibi agendo . . . intrepide appropians" Duch. p. 205; Giles p. 140. Guy, saying nothing of illness, writes (*Carmen*, Giles, *Scriptores* 44-5; Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 868 l. 623): "Per spatium mensis cum gente perendinat illinc, (? Dover or Canterbury). Post alio vadit castra locare sibi Guincestram misit." but William of Poitiers and the Domesday valuations show that 'per spatium mensis' must mean "through the month," i.e., over the end of October till Nov. 1 or 2. The Battle was on the 14th Oct., the dead were buried on the 15th; if William himself passed four *nights* ("quinque dies," Guy) at Hastings, one or two near

Romney, and seven ("octo dies," W. Poit.) at Dover, he would be taken ill Oct. 28, 29, or 30.

⁴ The right from Ospringe (20 15 20) and Eastling [2] (13-7-10). The centre from Chatham (40 30 ? 80). The left from Folkestone by Brabourne (20 13 21), Stelling (15-8-14), Crundall (Fanne) (4-1 4), and Pluckley cum Pevington (20-13-21).

⁵ Addington (8 5 6), Birling (12-6-12), Ryarsh (8 5-6), Dilton (8-5-8).

⁶ Larking, *Domesday of Kent*, app. p. 43. La Sela was the old name (Hasted).

⁷ Except "Assetune" (?), Darenth and Gillingham. Small manors of 60s. or less are in general neglected and also reductions of only 20s., 30s., or even 40s.

Hastings. His communication with Hastings being thus secured, he lingered for a day or two, for from Limpsfield and Godstone northwards the whole of the south-eastern corner of Surrey—i.e., the whole hundred of Tandridge (137-83-147), reaching to Farley, part of Reigate and the southern part of Wallington hundred up to Beddington and Carshalton, 10 miles from London—is ravaged, though not so much as the country round Dover. A considerable body at least advanced further through Merton to Tooting [3] (9-3-10½) and Battersea (80-30-75).¹

Some horsemen were sent forward to Camberwell (12-6-14)² who burnt Southwark, but William did not attempt to cross the river and leaving, as it would seem, a detachment at Battersea or Mortlake (32-10-38) he marched on. Giving up his hold on the road to Hastings he seized that to Chichester, to which port his fleet seems to have moved from Hastings (p. 215). He passed through Cuddington (11-5-9½) near Ewell,³ Ashstead (10-6-12) and Leatherhead (Tornecrosta 5-3-5). Then, at a safe distance from London, he turned west through Gomshall (15-10-20), Albury (10-5-9) and Shalford (16-9-20) to Guildford, south of which we also find damage at Bramley (40-30-60) and Godalming (25-20-30).

From Guildford he marched west past Compton and Wanborough (15-9-15) to Farnham (55-30-47), then into Hants to Crondal [3] (24½-12-32) and Warnborough (12-6-10); next to Nateley and Basing (together 14½-9½-19), raiding perhaps to Strathfieldsaye (15-12-15); thence to Ellisfield, Nutley, Farley and Dummer (together 33-14-25); so to Micheldever (60-40-93) and thence by Sutton Scotney [2] (12-8-10) northwards to Hurstbourn (36-26-40). At this time or a little earlier we may perhaps date the surrender of Winchester,⁴ and the fleet seems to have sent him reinforcements from Chichester or Portsmouth through Fareham (18-10-16), Wickham (10-4-7), Bishops Waltham (31-10½-30), Droxford (26-20-26), Exton (16-12-20), Warnford (22-14-22), West Meon (20-16-30) and East Meon (60-40-60) to Alresford (40-20-57).⁵ There had been time to gather fresh troops since Hastings and a strong left wing now appears marching from Alresford through Easton (34-12-34), Headbourn Worthy (25-10-15) close to Winchester, Crawley (35-28-42), Clatford (20-15½-20), Fifeild (5-2½-5) to the west of Andover, Tidworth (10-5-10) and so, probably through the eastern edge of Wiltshire, to Lambourn in Berkshire (49-33-44). The right and now weaker column goes from Hurstbourn by Upton (4-2-4) and Easton Crux (6-3-6) to Highclere (12-7-11). I notice no other considerable losses in Surrey or

¹ Will. Poit. (Duchesne 205; Giles 141). "Intrepide approprians (from Canterbury) non longe a Lundonia consedit. . . . Praemissi illo equites Normanni quingenti egressam contra se aciem refugere intra moenia compellunt." The manors in Reigate and Wallington hundreds, viz., Nutfield, Merstham, Gatton, Banstead, Woodmansterne, Beddington [2] and Carshalton stand together for 89 45 84; other villages near which have only two valuations were probably also ravaged. The figures for Croydon are puzzling.

² Will. Poit. *ibid.* Domesday rather suggests that these horsemen were sent forward to Camberwell from Seal through Cudham (20-16-24), Chelsfield (16-12-25), Orpington [2] (17-9-27), Eltham (16 12-20) and Lewisham (16 12-30). It is possible that (as I once thought) the whole army marched this way to Battersea, and that

the damage in south-eastern Surrey was done by Harold's army, which was probably gathered together south of London. But the fact that Clapham and Lambeth show no loss of value inclines me to think that the damage at Battersea was done by a smaller body, which remained for some days, but was afraid to range far from camp.

³ Ewell and Epsom are also reduced after 1066, but the figures are perhaps ambiguous.

⁴ *Pace* Freeman, Guy says distinctly that it was not while William was near Canterbury, but (*alio*) at a later stage of his march; see p. 208 note 3 above. Guy's account of the march is very vague.

⁵ A party seems to have met them from Farnham by Hartley Maudit (8-3-7) and Farrington (15-12-21).

in northern Hampshire. The damage runs in a crooked but continuous line; it does not spread very wide. From Battersea William seems to have pressed steadily forward; destruction fell on the line of daily halting places, but he did not seriously injure the country on either side.

From Lambourn the left or main column sweeps round the north-western border of Berks¹ through Shrivenham, Farringdon and Longworth to Sutton Courtney south of Abingdon, and so to Whittenham 60 a. 2 (20-15-20) and across the river at Wallingford.² The centre reached Wallingford by a smaller curve past Wantage to Hendred,³ while the right marched further to the east from Highclere to East Ilsley⁴ and thence, either to Wallingford, or possibly to Basildon (25-20-25) and the old crossing of the Ickneild way from Streatley to Goring,⁵ but they show no loss.

Freeman makes William receive the submission of the Saxon leaders a few days later at Great Berkhamstead, but Domesday tells us a different story which agrees better with the authorities. After Wallingford we lose the scent for a moment; in Oxfordshire the Domesday valuations are not so arranged as to help us, and moreover the southern end of the county appears to have been already ravaged in 1065, either by the northern insurgents when at Oxford or by the force with which Harold went to meet them.⁶ But we recover the line again 12 miles north of Wallingford at Thame (20-16-30), Bledlow (20-12-22) and Risborough (10-5-16). William seems to have marched north, keeping west of the Chilterns, which would protect his right flank from the enemy in London. From Bledlow and Risborough William marched on north through eastern Bucks, following the line of the present railway to Buckingham, through Ellesborough and Stoke Mandeville (together 28-16-26), Weston (15-8-15), Aston Clinton (20-10-18), Waddesden (30-16-30), Hardwick (16-10-15), Claydon [2] (9-4-8), Padbury, Tingewick and Thornborough (together 30-20-30). We do not find damage in Bucks west of this line nor in Oxfordshire. Then he turned eastward by Beachampton, Woolverton, Loughton and Linford [2] near Stony Stratford

¹ By Lambourn 57 b. 1 (40-33-44), Ashbury 50 b. 1 (35-20-40), Shrivenham 57 b. 2 (35-20-45) and Watchfield 50 a. 2 (15-10-14), Coxwell [2] 57 b. 2 (24-18-24) and Colleshill 03 a. 1 (7-2-5), Eaton Hastings 61 a. 2 (10-5-0), Farringdon 57 b. 2 (10-12-21), Littleworth (Ordia, 58 a. 1) 30-20-25, Hanney 60 a. 2 (10-8-14), Stevenon 57 b. 2 (25-20-22) and Sutton 57 b. 2 (30-20-50).

² Will. Poit. (Duchesne 205, Giles 141) "Transmeato flumine, vado sinial atque ponte, ad oppidum Guarengefort pervenit." W. Jum. p. 288: "ad urbem W. gressum divertit, transmeatoque vado fluvii legiones ibi castra metari iussit." Presumably the army crossed and camped in Bensington, while William himself lodged at Wallingford. No damage is shown round Wallingford at Sotwell 50 b. 2 (8-8-12), Brightwell 58 a. 2 (20-20-25) or Cholsey 50 b. 2 (64-64-65), so that there can have been no camp there, though Clapcot 61 b. 1 is doubtful. For the 50 teamlands of Bensington we have no values, but for the adjoining Crownmarsh [2] 16-16-28.

³ Through Farnborough 59 a. 2 (9-6-10), by Betterton 57 a. (6-3-5), Charlton 57 a. 1 (8-4-8) and Ardington (16-12-16), all near Wantage, to Hendred 57 b. 2, 64 a. 1 (14-9½-19).

⁴ By Winterbourn 58 a. 1 (6-2½-4), West Pease-

more 62 b. 2 (6-3-5), Beeden 58 b. 2 (11-6-8) and Ashridge in Compton 60 a. 2 (12-6-10) to Hodeot in Ilsley 61 a. 1 (6-14-3).

⁵ D. B. 57 a. 1. It is curious that Goring, then 'Garinges,' had practically the same name as Wallingford, then Warengford, for the old G. and W. were almost identical—e.g. 'Wareford' D.B. 59 a. 1 is now Garford. The two fords appear to have been alternative crossings of the Ickneild way; was 'Garinges' the old name of the district?

⁶ Eng. Hist. Rev. xiii 295 (1898).

⁷ In western Bucks the values at Haddenham, Dinton, Edgecott, Marsh Gibbon, Steeple Claydon and in the whole hundreds of Tichesesele (except Kinsey by Thame and Arringrave) and Essedene (except Oving) are of the type £a, a-1, a-1, which does not suggest ravage. In Oxfordshire some forty manors which have triple valuations show no loss in 1067 except at Dorchester [2] (26-21-47) opposite Wallingford, Shifford (10-5-7) and Banbury [2] (46½-39½-44). In eastern Oxfordshire adjoining Bucks, Hardwick, Fringford, Stratton, Bicester, Chesterton (159 b. 1), Wendlebury, Ambrosden, Merton, Stanton St. John, all tend to the type 'valet et valet a/.'

(together 32½-21-31), and so to Hanslope (24-20-24), Sherrington (10-7-10), Olney (12-7-12) and Lavendon [6] (19½-6½-13) at the northern corner of the county. A right wing moved from Aston Clinton more to the east by Buckland (10-3-8), Aston Abbots, Cublington and Mentmore (together 30-19-28) and Linslade (10-5-10) to Brickhill [2] (15-9-12) and Simpson near Fenny Stratford (8-1-6). In Bedfordshire the scent is unfortunately confused by a number of valuations of the type T.R.E. £a, 1067 £a-b, 1086 £a-b, but from Olney the left wing appears to have marched due east from Turvey and Stagsden to Potton, and so through the corner of Cambridgeshire¹ by Morden [2] (26-18-26½) and Meldreth, by which six entries are together valued £58¾-26½-47¾, throwing off a column which made a circuit nearly reaching St. Neots and Cambridge,² while the right wing from Fenny Stratford marched further south from Aspley Guise to Stotfold.³

When William crossed the river and marched north through Bucks, the detachment left at Battersea, passing from Mortlake (32-10-38) through Combe and Malden (together 11-6-11), Molesey [3], Ditton [2] (together 34-20-43), seems to have crossed the Thames from Molesey to Hampton (39-20-40), where there was a good ford,⁴ and then to have moved slowly through Feltham and Bedfont [2] (20-8-13), Stanwell (14-6-14) and Harmondsworth (25-12-20) to Hayes (40-12-30). In this way it guarded the road from London, between the Chiltern hills and the river, through Henley to Wallingford, by which William might have been taken in the rear. As he swept round through Bedfordshire, this force appears to have moved further north from Hayes along the western edge of Middlesex through Northholt (12-5-10), Ruislip (30-12-20) and Harefield (14-8-12) to Harrow (60-20-56), still near enough to the Thames to cover the road from London to Henley and Wallingford, but drawing nearer to the army in Bedfordshire. Communication with the main army seems marked (a) from Harmondsworth to Wallingford through Iver (12-5-22), Stoke Pogis (6-3-5), Burnham (10-6-10), Taplow (8-3-8), Hitcham (5-1-4) and Woburn (10-6-15); it looks as if there was an intermediate post near Taplow; (b) from Harrow to North Bucks and Beds at Rickmansworth (20-12-20), Caishoe (30-24-28) and Tring (25-20-22); perhaps also at the Langleys (15-12-10 and 8-4-2) and Berkhamstead (24-20-16).⁵

From Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire the army entered Hertfordshire, where we find abundant signs of ravage on the eastern side. They are roughly contained in a triangle of which the base runs from the north-east corner of the county to Hitchin and the apex lies to the south at

¹ The line seems to be Turvey (4-2-4), Stagsden (5-2-5), Elstow (10-2-5), Harrowden (0-2-2), Cardington [3] (10-7-9½), Sandy (18-13-17), Potton (13-5-12), Meldreth (8-2-6 and 14-6-10), Whaddon (6-1½-5 and 4½-3-4½), Wendy (10-6-8), Barrington (16-8-12).

² Willington (6-2-7), Barford [2] (13½-6-19), Blimham [3] (19-12-15), Tempsford (12½-8-10½), Roston [2] (19½-7-13), Eaton Soccon [4] (31½-13½-24½), Caxton (14-6-11), Toft [2] (9-1½-6), Eversden (16-6-9), Harston (10-4½-8), Trumpington (5-1½-4), Duxworth (8-5½-7½).

³ Aspley (10-5-8), Millbrook (5-1½-3), Amptill (4-2-4), Silsoe and Pulloxhill (24-13-18), Campton (3½-1-3), Conthill (19-14-18), Langford (15-10-15),

Stotfold (20-12-25).

⁴ In 1685 Lord Lumley, bringing Monmouth to London, writes:—"From thence [Guildford] I think the best way will be to go by the way of Hampton, where there is a good ford;" Drayton MS. quoted in Fea's *King Monmouth* p. 314 (1902). This "good ford" at Hampton (not previously known to me) serves to connect the damage along the southern bank from Battersea to Molesey with that on the north of the river. The supposed ford at Coway Stakes, between Shepperton and Walton, is a delusion; it had nearly six feet of water (Camden). The 'ford' of Upper and Lower Halliford was on the brook between them.

⁵ But see p. 214 below.

Enfield, the army concentrating as it nears London. We do not find damage in the western hundreds of Essex—Uttlesford, Clavering and Harlow. The left and larger wing leads us from Meldreth through Barley [3] ($9-3\frac{1}{2}-6\frac{1}{2}$), Barkway ($6-3-6$), Westmill [2] ($34-20-29$) and Standon ($34-16-34$) to Stanstead close to Hertford ($20-10-17$). From Westmill it throws out a column by Great Munden ($16-12-16$), Bennington ($14-6-12$), Braintfield and Tewin (together $9-3\frac{1}{2}-7$). The right wing seems to have marched from Stotfold by Radwell ($10-2-5$) and Bygrave ($12-8-10$), Clothall ($10-5-7$), Willian ($12-4-10$), Wymondley¹ ($3-1-3$), Aston ($20-14-18$), Knebworth and Ayot ($12-5-10$ and $5-1-3$) to Hertingfordbury ($10-6-8$). If the exact tracing of the march is too fanciful, it is at least clear that there is a great semi-circle or horseshoe of damage between West Bucks on the one side and Essex on the other, the base lying between Wallingford and Hertford.²

Two miles south of Hertingfordbury lie Bayford ($16-8-20$) and Little Berkhamstead ($5-2\frac{1}{2}-5$) and it must have been there at Little Berkhamstead, not as is generally said at its greater namesake, that William received the submission of the English. Great Berkhamstead, a place on the very edge of the county, up in the north-western corner, does not agree with the statement of Florence, who says that William wasted "Sussex, Kent, Hants, Surrey, Middlesex and *Hertfordshire* till he came to Beorcham;"³ the road from Wallingford to Great Berkhamstead would end with less than six miles in Herts. Little Berkhamstead also agrees much better with William of Poitiers, who says that the submission took place when the Normans came within sight of London—"statim ut *Londonia conspectui patebat*." The ground rises sharply from the bank of the Lea to Little Berkhamstead. Two miles to the south at Newgate Street, or certainly a mile further at the windmill between Upper Burleigh and Goff's Oak, the Norman scouts from a height of 350 feet would look down, along the valleys of the Cuffley brook and the river Lea, straight towards London, only 15 miles away, and over it to the high ground at Peckham Rye and Forest Hill. The city is now veiled by the smoke of the northern suburbs, but the smoke of London in 1066 would conveniently mark the spot for the Normans. St Paul's could be seen up to 10 or 15 years ago from the windmill at Goff's Oak and can still be seen from the tower of St Luke's Enfield, which is just on the line from Goff's Oak to London Bridge.⁴ The smoke of London could not of course be seen from the actual village of Little Berkhamstead, but William of Poitiers' phrase does not imply that it was; if the submission was received in camp near the village, the scouts, if not William and his chief men, would already have ridden on 3 miles to the top of the hill. But William would march early, and it is quite as likely that the Saxons met him on the

¹ Hitchin ($4-2-6$), Offley ($15-8-11$) and Hexton ($16-11-17\frac{1}{2}$) seem to mark the path of some stragglers from Beds.

² In mid-Herts we do not find much damage. There is some on a line south from Beds by Streatley [2] ($11-4-8$) and Caddington in Beds ($5\frac{1}{2}-2$), Flamstead ($12-9-11$) and St. Albans ($24-12-20$). Kensworth, Caddington in Herts, Letchworth, Redborn, Sandridge show little or no loss. I doubt if Kimpton ($15-12-12$), Gaddesden ($25-20-23$), Mimms ($10-8-8$) are due to ravage in 1066.

³ As he omits Berkshire, through which the

army must have passed to Wallingford, we need not be surprised at the omission of Bucks and Beds. "Kent, Hants, Surrey" is clearly not the order of march.

⁴ This information comes from the Rev. G. Gibson, rector of Little Berkhamstead, and the Rev. V. T. Macy, late vicar of St. Luke's, and his builder. The St. Paul's of 1066 would hardly be tall enough to be seen from Goff's Oak and the whole city would be hidden by the higher ground (100 feet) 3 miles north of it at Stoke Newington.

march 2 or 3 miles south of the village, which would agree well enough with the Chronicle and Florence.

Great Berkhamstead is 27 miles from London Bridge. From King's Langley, on the west of the road to London, there is a view to the south-south-west through the gap between Bushey Heath and Pinner Hill; but King's Langley is six miles from Berkhamstead and the view is in the direction of Fulham, not of London Bridge. Everything east of a line to Fulham is shut out by the high ridge, only seven miles in front of King's Langley, which runs from Barnett westward to Stanmore and Bushey Heath and a mile beyond. Even if we go two miles west of the road at King's Langley, say to Callipers Hall, a line past the end of this ridge would strike only Kensington and Chelsea, and though Fulham and Kensington are to us part of London, they would not be so held in 1066. If we go four miles west of King's Langley, to the south of Sarratt, the line of view strikes no nearer to London than Westminster, but Sarratt is quite out of the line of march from Berkhamstead to London. Moreover, all these points of view are one-and-twenty miles from London Bridge. Perhaps we must not interpret William of Poitiers' words too strictly, but at King's Langley, even apart from the exact direction of the view, the gap through which we look is less than a mile wide, which is not a great deal seven miles off. The general impression given by the view near Little Berkhamstead is that of looking out into the distance, but at King's Langley of looking at the heights (400 to 500 feet) of Bushey and Pinner Hills. The gap between them is not very low, not less than 250 feet, and probably nothing could be seen over it but a few hill-tops near Wembley and Willesden with Norwood in the distance 10 or 12 miles beyond. Tested from the other end the hills near Sarratt can barely be seen over this saddle from Wembley Hill, which is just 200 feet. They can be seen well from the very highest bank in the clayfield on the top of the hill south of Willesden Green, but this is over 200 feet and they are lost a little below it. If there were no trees in the gap, it would make some difference, but it is not likely there were no trees in 1066.

From Little Berkhamstead we follow the army to Enfield (50-20-50), Edmonton (40-20-40) and Tottenham (26-10-25). Here again Domesday points to Beorcham or Beorhamstede being Little Berkhamstead, for the Chronicle specially tells us that, although on the submission of the Saxons William promised he would be a kind lord to them, "yet¹ (the Normans) wasted all they passed through," and the heavy damage at Enfield, Edmonton and Tottenham agrees well with this. The damage in the Great Berkhamstead valley at Tring (25-20-22), Berkhamstead (24-20-16), Langley (15-12-10 and 8-4-2) and east of it at Gaddesden (25-20-22) and Hemelhempstead (25-25-22 and 25-22½-22½) is very much less; indeed the proportion of damage is comparatively so small that William's main army can hardly have passed that way. Moreover, as the damage there was not recovered in 1086, it is doubtful if it belonged to 1066 at all.

Will Domesday allow of the fight before London, for which there is authority in William of Jumièges? The cavalry might be pushed forward

¹ "Theah onmang thisan," and Florence exercitui suo villas cremare et rapinas agere
i 228, "cum quibus et ipse pepigit, et nihilominus permisit."

from Hertingfordbury, but Guy says distinctly that the attack, which he much exaggerates, was directed from Westminster. Can it have been made by the force left at Harrow? They may have prepared some battering rams, and as William marched south through Hertfordshire may have advanced and won a skirmish with the Saxons near Westminster. This would not happen under the eye of the chaplain or his authority, but Guy's informant may have belonged to this force. They certainly did not stay at Westminster, for we find no great damage there.¹

The figures of Domesday, in tracing William's march from Hastings to the surrender at Little Berkhamstead, throw light incidentally on one or two other points. They seem fatal to Stigand, for his submission at or near Wallingford must have preceded the general surrender, not by two or three days, which might be compatible with honesty, but by two or three weeks, and we can not much doubt that he deserted the falling cause. They give also some test of William's numbers. It is obvious that a large army living, as his did, on the country it passes through must move on a wide front and leave a broad strip of ravaged country behind. It cannot march in several divisions one behind another, for the rear would starve. Where the Normans would naturally pause in their advance—south of London, in west Berks before crossing the river, in north Herts on again nearing London—the ravage, as round Dover, is wide. But along the general line of their march the strip of country damaged is not very broad. The evidence of Domesday, like the battlefield (p. 217), suggests that the force was not large, probably at most 8,000 to 10,000 men. Nor does it favour the idea that William set himself to waste the country far and wide. In western Kent, western Surrey and Hants the belt of damage is comparatively narrow; if pure devastation had been his object he could surely have made it much wider.² He would not wish to create between himself and Normandy the desert which Wace makes Gyrth suggest to Harold as the best obstacle to his advance. Nor can he have had much time for mere devastation; he could hardly have covered some 350 miles between Canterbury and Little Berkhamstead within seven weeks, if he had allowed his troops to be scattered for wide-spread ravage; the destruction on the line of march was enough to strike terror and the Chronicle need not be taken to mean more than this.

To complete the story something may be said of Sussex. Hastings rape (f 18) was all waste in 1067 or nearly so; this was plainly due to the Norman army. In Pevensey rape (20 b) Domesday shows much damage everywhere along the coast and up the left bank of the Ouse. This seems too far from Hastings to be due to the army, (unless there was a large garrison at Pevensey) and it was presumably done by men from the ships, which no doubt remained near Hastings after William had left, in case he had to retreat. Taking the larger estates we have on the coast (East)bourne (?-30-43), Easthall and Bevrington (5-3-4), Willingdon³ (45*-30-47), four others (23-10-17) and Bishopstone 16 b 2 (26-11-20); then up the Ouse, two in Wandelmestrei (7½-3-6½), in Totnore Ferle (50*-30-45) and the

¹ Chelsea (9-9-9), Westminster (12-10 10 and 6-1 3), Kensington (10 6 10).

² In north-eastern Bucks, both in Sigelai and Muselai hundreds, where the two columns were ten miles apart, many manors between them are

untouched; e.g. Dunton, Stewkley, Winslow, Swanbourn, Horwood, Whaddon, Stoke, Woughton, Stantonbury.

³ The T.R.E. values starred are roughly adapted to the size of the manors in 1086.

rest similar, (?) Malling 16 a 2 (40-30-70), and two (7½-4-5½) in Framfield (Horsted); also west of the Ouse (26 a) Rodmill (50*-20-37) and Iford (Niworde) (40*-20-42).¹ The damage did not reach Hartfield hundred or Rotherfield at the northern end of the rape. How far it reached from the coast we cannot tell, for in other hundreds we do not get triple values, but there is a line of damage in the rape of Lewes through Barcombe (12-6-8), Plumpton (25-15-25) and Ditchling (70*-25-72) to Hurst(pierpoint) (20-9-12) which suggests a raid across the Ouse westward. Elsewhere damage is not often found between the Ouse and the Arun. Rottingdean cum Ovingdean (8-5-10), Brighton (28-21-36), Preston 17 a (18-10-18), Patcham (100-50-80) and (?) Sadlescombe (15-10-11) point again to the ships, and so does damage up the Adur through Kingston (22-8-22), Shoreham (25-16-35), Erringham (2-1-2) and (?) Breeding, apparently crossing the stream to Wappingthorne in Steyning² (5-1-4) and Wiston (12-4-12).

In the rape of Earl Roger there is no damage in the two hundreds of Isewerit and Riseberge east of the Arun, but in all the rest of it practically every estate lost a third to half its value, except near Selsey in the hundred of Sumerleg or Westeringes. All this damage suggests that to land reinforcements and secure a refuge on his march from London to Wallingford William moved his ships from the Hastings coast to the harbours west of Chichester. The adjoining corner of Hants was mainly covered by the forest of Bere, but there was damage in the islands of Hayling and Portsea and at 'Ceptone' (44 b 2), now Charlton, Catherington etc. (56-35-80). It is remarkable that the Archbishop's manors Pagham, Tangemere and Lavington show no loss in 1067, but perhaps they may have been specially protected, or the "*post*" of these entries may refer, not to 1067, but to 1070 or later (p. 208).³

Let us now divide the valuations in the counties that have been dealt with into two groups; (a) the ravaged manors noticed above, and (b) the manors which were not touched; taking only the larger ones. We get totals of this kind: ⁴—

(a) 37 in Kent . . . 643-313-657	(b) 38 Kent (Odo) . . . 371-350-404
24 Chichester ⁵ . . . 403-238-445	25 in Arundel ⁵ . . . 193-183-202
40 in Surrey . . . 570-325-617	20 in Surrey . . . 240-232-250
20 in Hants . . . 415-223-441	44 in Hants . . . 550-548-596
31 in Bucks . . . 350-201-333	30 W. Bucks . . . 215-191-200
152 Manors . . . 2381 1300 2493	157 Manors . . . 1569 1504 1652
(a) 25 W. Berks. . . 374-247-362	(a) 14 in Camb. . . 131- 63-110
29 in Beds . . . 280-136-230	22 E. Herts . . . 253-134-224
90 (ravaged) in W. Berks, Beds, Camb., and Herts . . . 1038 580 926	

¹ Southease however, held by St Peter's Winchester, shows no loss.

² The entries for Steyning itself are too complicated to deal with.

³ The king's manor at Bosham also shows no loss, perhaps for similar reasons.

⁴ Besides smaller entries I have excluded from both columns (1) forty cases where the value in 1086, in all 1,1071, exceeds so much (50 per cent.) that of 1065, in all 6851., as to suggest change of size; and a dozen similar reductions; (2) valua-

tions (except in W. Bucks) of the type £a, a-b, a-b; in Kent, Surrey and Hants they are very few; (3) some doubtful cases, e.g. Chilham in Kent; (4) from Hants, the Isle of Wight and the S.E. hundreds of Egheiete, Fordingbridge, Rodbridge, Rodedic and Bovre.

⁵ Chichester, D.B. f. 23 and 24 a. to Mundreham; the increase in 1086 is mainly at Silleton (161.) and Hertinges (201.); Borne is excluded. Arundel (col. b.) represents f. 24 b. and the adjoining hundred of Bedford in Bramber.

Outside the line of march the immediate effect of the conquest on the value of land in the south-east seems to have been very slight. These counties bore the first, though not the heaviest, brunt of the five years of conquest 1066-70, yet few manors have lost in 1067 even 10 per cent. of their previous value, while to far the greater number exactly the same value is assigned as for 1065. Primitive agriculture would not suffer permanently by war,¹ unless the plough-teams and live stock were actually destroyed, and by 1086, probably long before, the ravaged manors in Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Hants had fully recovered, even those round Hastings. If this was so even round Hastings and Dover, what must have been the treatment in 1069 of Yorkshire which was still waste after eighteen years? There not only the cattle, but most of the men, must have been slaughtered or driven out of the country. The difference in value of both (a) and (b) between 1065 and 1086 is very small. If the valuations represent the net value to the lord—the rent obtainable 'at farm'—then the figures suggest that, whatever change there may have been in the position of the *villani*, their services cannot as a rule have been practically much increased.

The value in 1086 of the lands in Kent of the Archbishop and the church of Rochester are exceptional. Thirteen Rochester manors are valued at £93-93-158. Of the Archbishop's manors twenty-four 'in demesne' are valued at £452-469-731 and actually returned £935, while twenty-two others in the hands of his tenants stand at £301-279-460. In Wilts we find a similar feature, for the Winchester manors with 260 hides increased from £196 in 1065 to £268 in 1086, those of Glastonbury with 258 hides from £167 to £223 and those of Edward of Salisbury with 157 hides from £157 to £221.²

In Berks, Bucks, Beds, Cambridge and Herts recovery seems less complete. This may or may not be connected with another feature. In Berks we find a number of valuations of the type T.R.E. £a, in 1067 £a-b, and also in 1086 £a-b, or occasionally £a-b + 1. All over the county, well out of William's path, we find such manors scattered quite promiscuously, so far as one can see, amongst other manors which show no variation. In Western Bucks the type is nearly universal, but the reduction small, generally 20s. In Beds and Cambridge the type, easily traced in the summaries by Mr. Airey and Dr. Walker, is common and the reductions often large, but scattered as in Berks amongst other manors which do not fall. In the face of the figures for Kent, Surrey and Hants³ it is difficult to think that this type is due either to William's march in 1066 or to any general changes which followed the conquest (p. 48).

¹ So also in the 12th century, while the Pipe Roll of 1156 gives a third or more of many counties as "waste," there is no "waste" shown in the Roll of 1162; Mr. H. W. Davis in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xviii, 634-41 (1903). For reasons see J. S. Mill, *Pol. Econ.* bk. i. ch. v. art. 7.

² W. H. Jones, D.B. for Wilts p. lxxvi. The entries


for the Archbishop's manors of Croydon and Cheam in Surrey are exceptional and puzzling.

³ In these counties the type is rare. In Kent I notice Sholden 11 a. 1 (15 1½ 1½), Swanton 11 a. 2 (10 1½ 2), Titenton 13 a. 2 (12 6 7); Surrey, Balham 36 a. 2 (6-1-2); Hants, about a dozen, five in Manebridge hundred.

APPENDIX B.

ON THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.¹

So much has been said of William's march after the battle from Hastings to London that it may be well, though hardly relevant to Domesday, to say something also of the battle itself. The size of the armies with which Harold defended and William conquered England is an interesting point on which the written evidence is altogether unsatisfactory. The English writers not unnaturally minimise Harold's force, while the Normans describe it with the inflated phrases of medieval Latin as a countless host. The actual figures given by the Normans are, if taken arithmetically, so inconsistent and so impossible that it is hopeless to use them as a foundation for any real estimate whatever. To treat them as mere exaggeration, taking the lowest figure and then making a deduction for the exaggeration, is not only pure guess-work, but is conjecture directed on wrong lines.

Some light has been thrown on the size of William's army by the comparatively narrow belt of country wasted on his march from Canterbury to London (p. 214), but probably the best evidence we can get in the matter is the length of the position occupied by Harold. The ground at Battle² is marked by two ridges which may be roughly represented thus ; the stalk points north-west-by-north and the crosspiece faces south. It was on the crossridge that the English stood and that the battle was fought. Its highest point is the site of the present Abbey (house) at the junction of the two ridges. It was near this point that Harold planted his standard, which at the end of the day fell on the spot marked later by the high altar of the abbey church. From this summit the ridge of the hill falls gently to east and west. On the west the crossridge ends 800 to 900 yards from the abbey church,³ which was close to the later built parish church, in a well marked shoulder. Eastward from the church the hill falls away gradually; on this side there is at no point any shoulder or sharp dip along the line of the ridge.⁴

The position given to Harold in Freeman's map⁵ stretches all along

¹ Most of pages 117-21 appeared in the Eng. Hist. Rev. (1905) xx 65.

² Six-inch ord. map No. 57 N.E. For help and information on various points I have to thank Sir Augustus Webster, the owner of Battle Abbey, General E. Renouard James, who in 1869 made a map of the battlefield for Freeman's Norman Conquest, and has very kindly allowed me to use a map made for him in 1907, Mr. W. A. Raper and Mr. Charles Sheppard, both of Battle, and Mr. T. Fitzroy Fenwick, of Thirlstaine House, Cheltenham, who has kindly supplied me with extracts from the Battle Manuscripts in the library of the late Sir Thomas Phillipp.

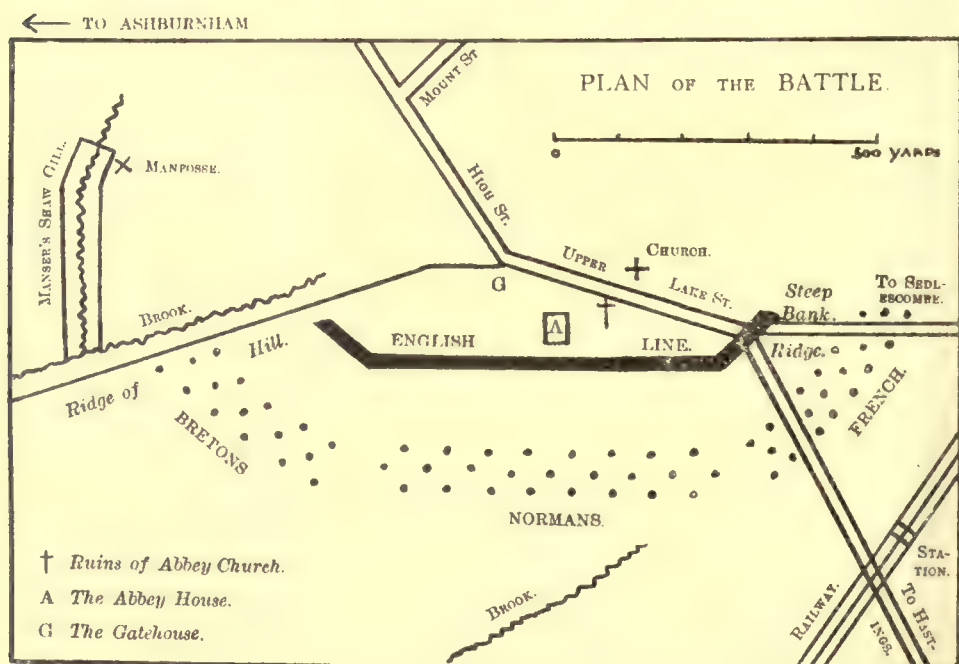
³ It was just south of the parish church, across the road. That the distances east and west may not be taken as counted from the present Abbey house (which is 70 yards to the west), they are

given as "from the church"—from which church the measurement is made makes no difference.

⁴ See below p. 221 note 2. At the school, 400 yards from the church, there is a sharp dip in the road, but it here slips off the ridge of the hill.

⁵ The map was made by Captain (now General) E. Renouard James, but the position shown on it was not fixed from a military point of view by him. He kindly tells me that he had not then studied the battle or seen Freeman's text, and that "the defensive line shewn on the map is precisely that indicated by Mr. Freeman as the probable position of Harold's palisade." Freeman's disclaimer of responsibility "for the extent of the palisade" (pref. vol. iii) seems to refer to its possible extension in the rear of the position; See General James' letter in the Morning Post, Jan. 25th, 1897.

the crossridge for some 800 yards west and 800 east of the church, giving a front of about 1,600 yards and calling for an army of some 20,000 to 30,000 men. The ground, however, offers a shorter and for the left flank much stronger position, only 600 to 800 yards long instead of 1,600. Harold posted his whole army on foot, massed in one immovable body many ranks deep, with orders on no account to break their formation. What he needed was protection for his flanks, especially to the rear, for he knew that the Normans were strong in cavalry. Flank attacks or turning movements in the strict military sense appear to have been little if at all used in medieval warfare, which dealt almost entirely in plain frontal attack; but it was not a question of a deliberate flank attack. It would be plain to him that in a prolonged hand-to-hand struggle between cavalry and his immovable phalanx the horsemen would inevitably overlap and ride round the English flanks unless prevented by the ground. Some 200 yards east of the church, opposite the Chequers Inn, lies the junction of the village street with the road to Marley and Sedlescombe; from



a map with contours is given at the end.

this point to the schoolhouse, 200 yards further east, the back of the ridge falls very sharply; the bank—the Malfosse of Freeman's map—is over 50 feet high and so steep as to give complete protection to the left flank thrown back upon it at an angle. On the other side of the abbey, to the west, a brook runs close behind the ridge and at 400 yards from the church the bank at the back, though not so formidable as it is further west, is already 20 feet high; it has too a wide trench at its foot, cut by the head of the little stream, so that there is quite enough to prevent any effective attack from the rear at this point by the Norman horse. The length of a position between these two banks extending 200 to 400 yards to the east, and about 400 yards to the west, of the church would be 600

to 800 yards ; probably nearer to 600 than 800 yards, for east of the church the bank is much steeper at 200 yards than at 300 or 400. We may therefore take the length of a line slightly curved with its flanks thrown sharply back to rest on the two banks as 650 to 800 yards. Let us take Mr. Oman's estimate of 10 or perhaps 12 ranks. In each rank he allows three feet per man to give him room to use his axe or javelin.¹ This may seem rather loose order to stand against mailed horsemen, but if we give only two feet per man, the line would not take more than from 10,000 to 12,000 or 13,000 men and many of them were rustics.² Against such a force William need not have had more than 8,000 to 10,000, on the average of better quality and better armed, perhaps not so many.³

So far as the ground went Harold's right wing might no doubt have stretched more than 400 yards west of the Church ; it might even have reached to the shoulder of the ridge 900 yards away ; but a position longer than 600 or at most 800 yards would not agree with our best authority, William of Poitiers. His details, apart from his decoration, have the touch of reality and look as if they came straight from some eyewitness. As a fine writer he talks of the *ingens numerositas* of the English, but as reporter he describes them "closely gathered in a mass" (*densius conglobati* and *maxime conferti*)⁴ words which will suit a position of 600 yards or perhaps even a little more, with the flanks thrown well back, but which would be singularly inappropriate to a line that extended for nearly a mile, or even for 1,000 yards, and would have been practically straight, for the line of the ridge is straight—indeed west of the Abbey it is slightly concave. From the Abbey to the foot of the hill is only some 300 yards ; if the centre were advanced 150 yards, halfway down the slope, the curve in a line of 1,000 to 1,600 yards would be inappreciable. But the centre was in fact advanced very little,⁵ for in the next line we read, before the actual fighting begins, *dux cum suis ardua clivi sensim ascendit*. If the

¹ Art of War (Mediæval), p. 156. The mode of wielding the axe is shown in the Tapestry. It is, with one exception, held with the left hand above the right and struck from above the left shoulder, so as to take the adversary on his right side, where he was least covered by his shield. To use the axe the shield was laid aside or slung over the back as in No. 75 (Fowke).

² The housecarls by the standard would most of them be part of the line in front of it. I incline to a position 600 yards long, rather than 800, and to 10,000 men or less, rather than 12,000 or 13,000 ; opposite the Chequers Inn, 200 yards from the church, seems a stronger position for the left flank than nearer the school ; it is the point given in Sir J. Ramsay's map (Foundations of Eng. ii., 24.) and General James and Sir A. Webster, both well acquainted with the ground and both soldiers, agree that this is the natural point for Harold's left flank. (See Gen. James' paper in Royal Engineers Journal, Jan. 1907.) The right flank is put by Sir James Ramsay just west of the Abbey gatehouse, only 200 yards west of the church, but at this point there is little or no protection for it to the rear and there seems no good position for this right flank less than 400 yards from the church ; (a bank which crosses the ridge west of the gatehouse appears to have been made by the ruins of the mediæval wall). It does not seem necessary to assume that Harold

and the standard were exactly in the centre of the line. It may be that Harold and the standard did not at first stand exactly where they fell at the end of the day, and that at first the standard was planted on the very highest point of the ridge, the site of the present Abbey house. The flanks of the 600 yards position would then be just 300 yards on either side of it. Harold may easily have moved himself later with the standard 70 yards east, to the site of the abbey church, either to be more directly to William, or to encourage the weakened left wing in its final struggle at the end of the day.

³ Sir James Ramsay (*ibid.* ii., 16) allows William a force of only 5,000 on the field, which seems rather small, but not impossible, and Dr. Spatz 6-7000 ; Schlacht von Hastings, p. 30.

⁴ "Præoccupavere montem silvæ per quam advenire vicinum . . . Constitere densius conglobati." Duchesne 200 ; Giles, *Scriptores* (Caxton Soc.) p. 133 ; a phrase on p. 132¹ nobis . . . relatam suggests, but does not altogether prove, that he was not present himself. The terms used by others all point the same way ; "spissum nemus" (Guy), "quasi castellum" (Hen. Hunt.) and the like. Florence says that the English "in arto loco constituti erant," but it is not quite clear if this refers to the actual battlefield.

⁵ In the map it is advanced rather too far.

English line had been less than 200 yards in front of them, the Norman horsemen would not have started up the hill till they actually attacked and would then have gone at a gallop.

It is true that William of Poitiers gives the duke first 50,000 and then 60,000 men, while other Norman writers deal in still larger figures.¹ But such figures are not to be taken as arithmetic at all.² They are to be looked upon, not as exaggerations of number, but as purely descriptive epithets, rhetorical equivalents of "many." Do not we still describe a crowd in much the same fashion? If a child says there are 100,000 flies on the window, we do not suppose that there must in fact be 50,000 or at least 30,000; he only means that there are a great many—more than he can count. When the Norman writers give the duke 60,000 or 100,000 men and Harold many more, killing thousands at every turn, it is only their way of saying that William was a great man and had many good soldiers and defeated a larger force with much slaughter. If armies of 8,000 to 12,000 men seem small, they are as large as William is likely to have carried across the Channel, or Harold to have gathered at short notice and hurried by a forced march through the Andredsweald. The English Chronicle's story that Harold fought "before all his forces had come" points to an army that was not large, while William had many horses, not easy to ship, and even in 1346, 1415-7 and 1475 the armies which crossed from England to France appear to have been only 8,000 to 10,000.³ Moreover we know that the Normans were embarked horses and all in one day, with sunset at 6 o'clock, and disembarked in one day at Pevensey, though neither operation began at sunrise,⁴ and that on October 14 they reached the battlefield, at least six miles from their camp, by 9 o'clock in the morning; all which points to a comparatively small force. When William is said to have had 3,000 ships, the number is like the 60,000 men plainly descriptive. Even if we accept the "700 all but 4" ships of Wace⁵ or the 1,000 and upwards (of which some 800 are enumerated) given by another document, it will not give us a close estimate of the army. We know that the largest of the ships were not large, but not the proportion of smaller boats or how small they were; nor do we know how many horses were taken or how many ships were absorbed in carrying them, they would take up the larger ships.

Even apart from *conglobati* it seems unlikely that Harold's left flank can have been carried more than 400 yards at most from the standard, for east of the present schoolhouse the position was for his particular tactics

¹ These figures may have originated either with the soldiers or the chroniclers, but Orderic's "*ibi ut fertur ab his qui interfuerunt, fere 15,000 perierunt*," is misleading; his account was not based on investigation, but is entirely borrowed, with improvements, from William of Poitiers and William of Jumièges—this detail from the latter, who says only "*ibi nimirum ut fertur 15,000 perierunt*," whether in Malfosse or in the whole battle is not clear. It was probably not so intended, but to our eyes Orderic's addition of "*ab his qui interfuerunt*" turns common report into evidence of eye-witnesses carefully collected. So also he writes that Harold was killed "in primo militum congressu," where William of Jumièges has "*progressu*," which I suspect was intended to mean only "at the head of his troops"—in the first rank.

² Like the Latin "*sexcenti*" 60,000 was a common phrase for a large number; so also William created 60,000 knights fees, and met 60,000 vassals at Salisbury (Orderic), and left treasure for 60,000 marks (Hen. Hunt); see Round, Feudal England, p. 290, where are many other cases. In the Chanson de Roland Charles has 60,000 trumpeters! see below, p. 223.

³ Sir J. Ramsey, Foundations of Eng. ii., 6 and in Eng. Hist. Rev. xviii., 628.

⁴ William of Poitiers 125-7.

⁵ The phrase was not intended to be so exact as it looks to us; both 700 and 4 were common descriptive numbers; see below p. 223 and compare the 700 English ships in William of Poitiers; Giles, Scriptorum, p. 131. A parallel phrase now would be "1000 within half-a-dozen."

comparatively weak both to the front and flank. In front the southern slope of the ridge is for 200 yards east of the schoolhouse easy, rising less than thirty feet above the valley at the present railway station, and the 200 feet contour shows conveniently how, if the English had been posted on this part of the ridge, the Normans could from near the Station, by riding only a little across the slope, have charged them almost on a level. This weakness in front has been often noticed and seems to have caused Mr. J. R. Green some qualms.¹ As to the flank on this east side, there is as has been said from 200 up to 400 yards east of the church, a steep bank at the back for it to rest upon; but east of this, beyond the school, the back of the hill broadens out, the bank which bounds it runs too far away to be of use, gets steadily lower, and at 600 yards from the church dies out. At this part of the hill both the front and the back of it are comparatively easy slopes and there is no good position for Harold's left; there is not even any sharp dip along the line of ridge for it to rest upon.² Nor does there seem any reason to think that there was more protection from timber or scrub on the northern slope of the hill than there was on its southern front. William of Poitiers and Guy distinguish broadly between the hill and the *wood* through which the English had come, but which they had left, while Guy describes the hill as *non cultus ager* (used in antithesis to *silva*), which suggests that it was all open heath without any quantity of scrub on either face of it.³ A flank placed 800 yards east of the church could probably have been protected by a comparatively small force of horsemen, for the ground would have been in their favour, but according to all the accounts we have Harold fought without any cavalry and apparently he had few bowmen. His closely massed infantry were not intended to leave their ground, nor could they safely do so while they were being attacked in front, so that for Harold's particular tactics his left flank would be much weaker at 800 or 900 yards from the standard than at 200 to 400.

If Harold's right flank was only 400 yards west of the church, the Norman left would gain the ridge or upper part of the hill on this side at the very beginning of the battle, before making any actual charge on the English line, but there is nothing against that in the authorities. Indeed, the fact is confirmed by their silence, for if the Normans first gained this ridge at a later stage, it would be, as Freeman makes it, a very important feature in the battle, which we should expect to be distinctly mentioned by the chroniclers.⁴ From the Abbey westward the ground falls gently along

¹ Historical Studies (1903), p. 151. What is there published was only a rough note made for his own use; I do not understand it as to the English left being away from William's base. That base was Hastings, to the south-east, and the English left or east wing was much nearer than their right to the ridgeway by which he had come. The coast due south near Bexhill was a little nearer than Hastings, but the country in that direction was difficult and cut up by streams. The ships must have been at Hastings.

² By the scale on his map, Freeman put the left flank 800 yards from the standard (just east of the Railway), probably to make the left wing the same length as the right. For men without muskets this exact position would be very weak. The effect of printing the palisade and the blocks

of men on the top of the hill shading has been to make the slopes just beyond them at this end look much sharper in his map than they really are. There is a rather better position 150 yards further east, which I originally thought that he intended, but even there the slopes are not sharp enough to give any real protection.

³ *Carmen de Bello Hasting. II.* 363-9, Giles, *Scriptores* p. 42. "Diffudit silva cohortes . . . Mons silvæ vicinus erat vicinaque vallis, et non cultus ager asperitate sua . . . progredientes hæc loca præripuit." For William of Poitiers, see above p. 219 note 4.

⁴ Guy's obscure lines quoted doubtfully by Freeman (iii., 490) do not in any case say that the Normans gained *higher* ground than before.

the ridge of the hill, but there is enough fall, by taking advantage of little variations, to give the English the advantage of standing on slightly higher ground than their assailants. The right flank therefore at 400 yards from the church was in nearly as good a position as the left which certainly held out all day, for though to the east of the Abbey there is a little more fall along the line of the ridge, no dip can anywhere be found along it sufficiently sharp to be any real protection. Moreover at 400 yards west of the church the actual ridge of the hill is not wide, so that to have the Normans upon it would not matter very much if they were expected and prepared for.¹ It would be a different matter if they gained it unexpectedly in the middle of the battle so as to charge along the ridge on a broken English line.

All the evidence points to the real fighting apart from any skirmishing having begun, not half-way down the southern face of the hill where the slope is fairly steep, but on the upper part of it where the slopes are comparatively easy, though enough to justify William of Poitiers in saying that the English had the advantage of standing on higher ground.² That there was some slope, where the armies actually met, but not very much appears to be confirmed by the Tapestry. The designer could show a steep slope or a hill very well if he liked, as is proved by Nos. 59-60 (Fowke), but in the first attack he simply cuts away under the Norman horse the usual inch or two of standing ground which runs all along the design. The same device is found in No. 70 and in No. 76—the death of Harold near the standard (*super ardua montis*, Guy)—and seems intended to indicate a comparatively easy slope. It would not in fact suit Harold to post his heavy phalanx upon, or even very near, a slope that was at all steep. Such a position, though more difficult to attack, would lead to disaster, for in the swaying of a hand to hand struggle the pressure of the rear ranks would inevitably drive the whole line down the slope in confusion.

The tactics of the battle have been admirably described by Mr. Oman, but it may be worth adding a few words on one or two points which, though of no great importance, have some topographical interest. The battle has been so overlaid with commentary that it may be well first of all to give, without the decorations, the really excellent account of it by William of Poitiers (see p. 219). The other authorities add little except some picturesque detail and also some confusion.

Note on descriptive arithmetic, see page 220

The Chanson de Roland, the existing version of which probably belongs to 1080-1100, is a very pretty illustration of purely descriptive arithmetic. The great variety of the numbers used in this way is curious. A comparatively moderate body of men—Marsil's court, Charles' vanguard, the rearguard left with Roland—is 20,000.³ A large force is 60,000 or 100,000; a grand army 400,000.⁴ Walter with 1,000 is attacked by

¹ It seems just possible that on either flank there may have been a short abattis, 50 or 100 yards long, across the ridge of the hill, and that this was the foundation for Wace's so-called palisade; but see below, p. 223 note 10.

² "Angli ninium adjuvantur superioris loci opportunitate, quem sine procursu tenent." This applies to the line as a whole; the slope along

the front was more than it was just on the flanks along the line of the ridge, though even on the flanks the English held slightly higher ground.

³ Chanson §2; §§45-8, 11, 548-87; §67 1.789.

⁴ §§47 1.565; 59 1.717; 74 1.851. Cf. Harold's boast in the Roman de Rou (1.7,885) that he has 400,000 men.

Almaris with 60,000¹—who are all killed! As a signal for attack we have 1,000 trumpets, for a grand blast 7,000, but on Charles' order—

“Sound every trumpet in the host,
Then sounded sixty thousand trumpets.²”

Seven is a favourite number—“je ferrai e mil colps e set cenz³”—and so is four, the roundness of which is not confined to 400,000. We have 40,000 Saracen horsemen; Archbishop Turpin kills 400 pagans; elsewhere 400 pagans are killed and only 60 Franks left,⁴ while Marsil sends to Charles⁵

“700 camels, moulted hawks a thousand,
Mules 400 laden with gold and silver.”

Nor is the descriptive roundness confined to large numbers. Charles had 60 great barons round him and is “seven full years” in Spain; Margeris has four wounds and Chernuble the strength of four mules.⁶

WILLIAM OF POITIERS' ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE⁷

“William advanced in this order with the banner which the Pope had sent him at the head. He put in front the foot armed with bows and crossbows (*balistis*), next in order the heavier foot with armour (*loricatos*), last the squadrons of horse, himself in their midst, so that by signal and voice he might give orders to every part of the line. (Rhetorical description of Harold's army as a countless host.) The English occupied (*præoccupavere*) high ground, a hill near to the forest through which they had come. Putting aside their horses, they took their stand all on foot gathered in a close mass (*constitere densius conglobati*). The Duke and his army, not dismayed by the difficulties of the ground,⁸ steadily mounted the heights (*ardua clivi sensim ascendit*). [The Bretons were on the left, the French and the mercenaries on the right, the Normans in the centre.⁹] A tremendous blast of trumpets rang out on both sides the signal for battle. It was begun with eager courage by the Normans. (Rhetoric.) The Norman foot advancing up to the enemy challenged the English, inflicting wounds and death with their missiles. The English resisted boldly as each man best could. They hurled spears and other weapons, sharp axes and stone-tipped clubs, by which our men were like to be overwhelmed. The horse rode up to their aid, the rear division coming to the front. Scorning to fight except hand to hand, they boldly attacked with the sword. (Noise of conflict). Thus for some time there was a hot struggle.

“The English were very much assisted by the advantage of occupying higher ground, instead of having to charge up it,¹⁰ and by being very closely massed together; also by their enormous numbers and great strength of body, and moreover by their weapons [axes], which easily cut

¹ §§117, 180. For 100,000 see §84 l.991, §87 ll.1034-40.

² §§85 l.1,004, 126 l.1,454, 184 l.2,110.

³ §91 l.1,078.

⁴ §§182-3 ll.2,072-92, 150.

⁵ §§3, 9, 12.

⁶ §§1, 84, 125, 163 l.1,849.

⁷ Duchesne, p. 200; J. A. Giles, *Scriptores Rerum Norman.* (Caxton Soc.), p. 132.

⁸ “*Asperitate loci*” may be either the roughness or the steepness of the ground. Guy repeats,

at this point, so many of the phrases in William of Poitiers—*mons silvæ vicinus*; *asperitate*; *præripiunt*—that it looks as if he had copied from him; see above p. 219 note 4.

⁹ This comes from Guy's *Carmen de Bello Hastingensi* and the *Roman de Rou*.

¹⁰ “*Superioris loci opportunitate, quem sine procursu tenent.*” If a palisade or abattis played any considerable part in the battle, it is almost inconceivable that it should not have been mentioned here.

through shields or other protection. They stoutly therefore resisted or repelled those who attacked them with the sword and wounded too those who shot at them from a little distance. Then in a panic at their fury the Bretons and the allies on the left wing retreated, horse and foot. Almost the whole of the Duke's line drew back. (Rhetoric.) The Normans believed that their Duke had fallen. The flight was not therefore less shameful, but was not to be regretted, as it brought much advantage. For the Duke, seeing that a large body of the enemy had dashed forward and pursued his men, met and stopped the fugitives; striking or threatening them with his spear. Taking off his helmet moreover and baring his head, he shouted, "Look at me, all of you—I am alive, and with God's help will win yet, etc." At these words they again took courage. He himself charged at their head, waving his sword. The Normans, full of fury, surrounding some thousands who were pursuing them, destroyed the whole body at once, so that not one remained. Encouraged by this they made more violent attack than before on the enemy's enormous army, which in spite of its heavy loss seemed no smaller. The English resisted bravely with all their strength, struggling especially not to give any opening to those who were trying to break through them. They were packed so close that the dead could hardly fall to the ground. Yet in places an entry was cut through by the valiant swordsmen. A young Norman, Robert, son of Roger de Beaumont, on this day, in his first battle, won eternal fame at the head of the troops he commanded in the right wing,¹ charging and overthrowing the enemy with great boldness. (Rhetoric).

"The Normans and their allies, finding that the English could not be overcome without great sacrifice so long as they resisted thus stoutly in a body, deliberately feigned flight and retreated. They remembered what an advantage they had gained from flight before. The rustics (*barbari*—the English) were filled with immense joy at the hope of victory. . . . Boldly, as before, some thousands of them rushed in pursuit of the supposed flying enemy. The Normans, suddenly wheeling their horses round, cut off, surrounded and destroyed the whole body, so that none were left. After having used this stratagem twice, they attacked with fresh courage the remainder of the English, whose line was still formidable and difficult to overcome (*circumvenire*).² Then followed a strange fight; one side attacked in various ways; the other simply stood firm, as if rooted to the ground. The Normans shot them with arrows, struck them down or ran them through. (Exploits of William and others.) [The archers were ordered to shoot upwards, so that the arrows fell over the shields of the English. Harold was wounded by an arrow; finally the Normans broke through and he was killed. *Hen. Hunt.*; *Roman de Rou.*]

"Towards evening [the battle having lasted since 9 a.m. *Will. Jum.*; *Florence*] the English army knew beyond doubt that it could no longer stand against the Normans. They knew that they had suffered heavy

¹ "Cum legione quam in dextro cornu duxit;" he seems to have been in command of a body of the mercenaries who were in the right wing; see above, p. 223, and below p. 226.

² The word appears to be used, as according to the dictionary it generally was, in a metaphorical sense. It does not seem to be intended to

mean "outflank," a manoeuvre which would not suggest itself to an 11th century writer and which was placed out of all question by the ground, see pp. 218. As to the stratagem, does "twice" mean "for the second time," referring to the real flight of the Bretons earlier.

losses, that their king, his brothers and many of the chief men had fallen. They saw that the Normans had lost but few men and were keener than ever in attack. . . . They therefore turned and fled, some seizing horses, others on foot; some by the roads, most of them across the country. . . . The Normans, though they did not know the country, followed in hot pursuit. [Many of them fell over a bank (*antiquus agger*) hidden by long grass and were killed. *Will. Jum.* The place is still called Malfosset. *Battle Chron.*] Courage returned to the fugitives when a precipitous valley and numerous ditches¹ gave them opportunity to renew the fight. The Duke (thought they had been reinforced and was advised by Eustace to stop the pursuit, but) disdaining fear, pressed on and drove them before him. In this [final] conflict several of the Norman nobles fell, their valour foiled by the difficulties of the ground."

TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE BATTLE.

On Saturday, the 14th October, William started his army from Hastings at daybreak, say by six o'clock, for the sun rose at 6.30; preparation could be made by moonlight; as full moon was on the 9th, on the 14th there was still nearly a $\frac{2}{3}$ moon rising before midnight. Probably his camp was west of the town¹ and his march by Bohemia, along the ridge which runs on the eastern side of the Sedlescombe road, to Baldslow. It is clear that he approached the battlefield by the great ridge which carries the present high road from Baldslow to Battle, for the country to the west of it is difficult. He halted for a short time at a "hill called Hechelande."³ In the abbey chronicle it is said that the boundary of its manor or "lowy" started "outside Bodeherste on the east by the land of R.B. and passes by the land of R.M. to Hechilande, and includes Hechilande, (and) by the land of W. fitz R. and the land of Croherste on the south, etc.;"⁴ and a charter speaks of land at Breggeselle as on "the great street leading to Hechelond."⁵ The present south-eastern boundary of the parish of Battle runs from the further side of Bathurst Wood,⁶ near Kent Street, on the east to the northern edge of Crowhurst on the south, while Breadsell lies east-north-east of Crowhurst on the road from Battle to Hastings. It is therefore clear that Hechelande lay between Kent Street and Crowhurst, just inside the parish of Battle and on the road to Hastings; *i.e.*, at the western end of Beauport Park immediately north-west of Breadsell. This is over two miles from Battle, on the south-east side of Blackhorse hill, the summit of Telham, over

¹ "Prærupti (? prærupte) vallis et frequentium fossarum opportunitas." The *fossæ* seem to be the gills to the north west on either side of the Ashburnham Road; there are five or six within a mile of Malfosse, now Manser's shaw (see p. 229 below). For *vallis* Orderic gives *valli*, but that looks like an alteration of his own to agree with the *agger* which he copies from William of Jumieges.

² On the shoulder of Cuckoo hill, by Cornwallis Gardens. The old harbour was in Priory Valley, and probably the Hastings of 1066 lay west of it, in front of Robertson Terrace, but was later drowned in the sea like old Winchelsea. T. H. Cole, *Antiquities of Hastings*, pp. 10, 43-9, 52; Lower, *Sussex Arch. Soc.* ii. 56.

³ Chron. of Battle Abbey, p. 3.

⁴ Chron. of Battle Abbey, Anglia Christ. Soc. 1846, p. 11; Cott. MS. Dom. A. ii. f. 7; Trans. with notes by M. A. Lower. p. 14; Dugd. Monast. (1821) iii. 241-2. The boundary goes on past Catsfield, "Puchehole," and Westbeech to "Bodeham on the west," then past "Ittington" (Eatenden) "on the north;" then past Whatlington and Sedlescombe "back to outside Bodeherste." These points also represent the boundary of the modern parish of Battle.

⁵ Thos. Thorpe, Catalogue of Battle documents, p. 14, No. 9.

⁶ It is marked "Great Wood" in the one-inch ordnance map, but "Bathurst" in the six-inch.

which the road from Hastings passes before dropping into the valley¹ between Telham² and Battle.

The abbey chronicle says that at this "hill called Hechelend" William and his barons donned their armour. In the tapestry and also in Wace they start fully armed from Hastings, but we cannot lay much stress on a point of this kind in the tapestry, for its designer would naturally be inclined to simplify details.³ On the other hand, the tradition may have followed a later custom in making them arm just before the battle; the monks would tend to attach such a story as that of William's reversed mail to this place within their own "lowy;" but the tradition seems enough to prove at least a halt at Hechelende. This spot, out of sight of the English, would be the natural place for the Normans to halt, in order to reconnoitre the enemy's position, to marshall their own forces, and make their final preparations for the battle. The Tapestry shows at this stage William receiving a report from Vital, who returns over the hill after reconnoitring ahead, and in the scene which follows the Normans ride beyond the top of the hill into the view of an English scout.⁴

From Hechelend the Normans would march on along the present high road. They would start from the summit in order of march, for a little below it the ridge passes between two ravines or 'gills' and is less than 200 yards wide, but when they reached the valley or perhaps a little earlier, they would extend for the attack. The line of battle was arranged in three main divisions placed in geographical order from east to west.⁵ The Bretons were on the left; the Normans in the centre; the right wing is called by Guy vaguely "Galli;" it seems to have consisted of men from Picardy, Flanders, France and elsewhere, a large part of them mercenaries ("soldeiers").⁶ According to Wace, who no doubt followed a tradition which in this matter was probably trustworthy, the geographical principle was carried out in detail, the various contingents being arranged from east to west according to the position of the places they came from. The men of Poitou and Maine in western France were attached to the Bretons on the left or west wing.⁷ So also the left of the central or

¹ Strictly speaking there are two valleys, one running east, the other west, separated by a neck which carries the road.

² "Pervenientes ad unum collem, qui erat a parte Hastingarum contra illum collem in quo erat Heraldus." *Brevis Relatio*, ed. J. A. Giles, *Scriptores* (Caxton Soc.), p. 7; see next note. The name "Telham" has been generally used for the whole hill, but "Telham Hill" has been appropriated locally and in the maps to the spur which runs out to the west, the summit and the spur leading to Battle being called Blackhorse hill, though it carries both Telham Court and Telham Mill.

³ *Battle Chron.* p. 3, (*Dugd. Monast.* iii. 240. a); *Roman de Rou* 7515, 7689, 7712, 7871. The *Chronicle* was written after 1176, but it here copies from an earlier document, for in the *Brevis Relatio*, written under Henry I., the story is given with many of the same phrases and is clearly from the same source. The account in William of Poitiers is consistent with either arrangement. That the tapestry was made before 1100, probably 1075-85, seems to be conclusively proved by cumulative evidence; the special mention of Turol, Wadard and Vital,

vassals of Odo in England and doubtless, well known in their day at Bayeux, but of no general fame and not likely to be remembered even at Bayeux 50 or 60 years after they had left the country; the maniple over Stigand's hand, whereas it is said to be always represented over the wrist after the first years of the 12th century; the clothes, the armour, the shaven heads of the Norman knights, in contrast with the English, for it is agreed, even by M. Marignan, that long hair came in soon after 1085 (*Orderic* 682), and lasted till 1170-80. It must however be said that the story of the shaven heads is given in Will. Malm. (iii. 239) and in Wace 17120. *Ellis*, *Introd.* to D.B. ii. 404; *Fowke*, *Bayeux Tapestry* (1898) p. 23; M. Lanore in *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes* lxiv. 87-92 (Jan.-Ap. 1903).

⁴ *Fowke's* No. 58-9. The view between Telham and Battle is now much interrupted by modern plantations.

⁵ *Freeman*, *Norm. Conq.* iii., 312, 460.

⁶ Will. of Poitiers (for the Bretons); Guy, *Car-men de Bello Hastingensi*; *Roman de Rou*.

⁷ *Roman de Rou*, (*Andressen*) 7668-82; *Taylor's* translation p. 171.

Norman division, next to the Bretons, came from the Cotentin,¹ at the western end of Normandy, and next to them seem to have been the men of Bayeux and the Bessin.² Together these account for the western half of Normandy; the men of eastern Normandy must therefore have been in the right or eastern half of this central division, and we are told that the men of Boulogne and Poix in Picardy were on the right wing.³

Moreover there are some indications in the *Roman de Rou* which seem to reach further and to show that the individual lords with their followers were as a rule arranged by the neighbourhood from which they came. We can build nothing on the order in which the Norman lords are named. They seem to be taken in batches; three or four from one part of Normandy, three or four from another, two or three from a third and then back again—it was not an unnatural plan for a Roman. But in one or two cases the action of the poem appears to imply that two or more lords were near to each other in the line, and in these cases we always find that they came from the same neighbourhood. The lords of Vieuxpont by Lisieux and of Montfort by Pont Audemer go together to aid William Malet² of Graville by Havre just across the Seine. The lords of Tillieres near Evreux and of Ferrieres near Bernay charge together;⁴ so do those of Breteuil by Evreux and of Val de Roil near Louviers;⁵ and when near the end the English fall back on a “tertre,” we have joined in the attack the lords of Mortimer and of Anvillers, both east of the Seine near Dieppe, and of St. Cler—presumably that east of the Seine on the Epte below Gisors.⁶

It was about nine o'clock when William “joined battle.”⁷ Whether that was the time when the actual fighting commenced or when he began to deploy into line, an operation which would take some little time, is not clear; but in any case the fact that he was ready so soon shows that the force he had to move from Hastings was not a very large one—certainly not 20,000 men. Considering that the English were all on foot, in a formation obviously intended to await attack, and that their position was only about 700 yards long or less, the Normans would not begin to extend till within 300 or 400 yards. As they mounted the slope in front of them they would go on spreading right and left, especially left above Freeman’s “detached hill.” William’s line of battle was in much less close order and thereby longer than that of the English. The two ends of the Norman line would reach the ridge of the hill without serious opposition, the left on the west, the right on the east of the English position, which was attacked in front and at both ends,⁸ but without success. After a time the Bretons on the left lost heart, wavered and fled, pursued by a number of English who were tempted to break out of their formation. According to Wace many of the Bretons appear to have fallen into a “fossé.”⁹ Seeing the Bretons give way, most of the Norman line drew back (*cedit*),

¹ Ibid. 8517; Taylor p. 225.

² Ibid. 8376; Taylor p. 207. In lines 8363-87 Wace appears to be following the actual order of the line.

³ *Roman de Rou*, (Andressen) 7668-82; Taylor’s translation p. 171.

⁴ Ibid. 8389-93; Taylor p. 208.

⁵ Ibid. 8529-31; Taylor p. 227.

⁶ Ibid. 8637; T. p. 239. For the identification of Anviler see Andressen, who rightly doubts

Taylor’s identification of St. Cler as the one near St. Lo in the Cotentin. “Ounebac” is joined with the others, but its identification as Annebault by Pont de l’Eveque seems very doubtful.

⁷ *Commisit proelium*, Will. Jum.; Florence.

⁸ The English flanks were, as has been said, turned back so as to rest on the steep banks at the back of the ridge.

⁹ See p. 231 below.

but apparently more slowly. The Bretons would naturally turn their flight inwards in the direction of the road to Hastings. William, who was fighting in the centre against Harold, galloped straight down the hill and met them at a right angle.¹ Raising his helmet so as to be recognised, he rallied the Bretons and then the rest of his men and turned them back on the pursuers, who were cut off and destroyed.

The mass of the English stood fast on the hill and long repelled every attack. It was not till the afternoon—Wace (18155) says after 3 o'clock—that by a stratagem of pretended flight William again drew a large number of them down the hill, when they were cut off and destroyed as before. This feigned flight must apparently have been executed by the right or right centre,² for a special part in cutting off and destroying the English pursuers is assigned by Guy to the French, who were on the right wing, by Wace to one of the French mercenaries on that wing and to Robert de Montgomeri, who he says commanded it,³ and by the abbey chronicle to Eustace who, if not near William in the centre, was no doubt on the right wing where his men of Boulogne are placed by Wace. It is on this side that the ground would be most suitable for such a manœuvre, the flight being down a comparatively gentle slope towards the Hastings road and the present station.⁴ The feigned flight does not seem to have extended to the whole of William's line. It is distinctly said by Guy that fighting went on at the top of the hill while the English who had run down it were being surrounded below.⁵ This would also appear to be involved in the account of William of Poitiers, in which all those who come down are slain and it is clear that the larger and better part of the English remain on the hill; they make no attempt to help those below; it would be natural for William to keep them occupied by an attack of the Bretons on his left.

For some time longer the English stood firm on the hill against all attack, but their phalanx was no longer so deep or so close as it had been. It was now further loosened by flights of arrows, which William's many archers shot upward so as to fall over the English shields, for the English being on the top of the hill the Norman archers, 50 or 100 yards off, stood below the English, who were therefore well covered by their shields. At last, after Harold had been wounded by one of these arrows, the Norman horsemen broke through; Harold was killed with many of his thegns and the remains of his army fled pursued by the Normans, who suffered however considerable loss in crossing a ravine, which was ever afterwards called Malfosse(t). The position of Malfosse, which will be fixed directly, proves that the flight of at least a large part of the English was to the north-west. The final blow seems therefore to have been

¹ "Occurrit" Will. Poit. The word has caused difficulty, but William had the shorter distance to cover and would have time to reach the valley west of the present lodge as soon as the Bretons.

² William of Poitiers says it was by "Normanni sociaque turba," which might mean any part of the army, but may be used specifically of the centre, for the phrase is very similar to that of "Britanni et quotquot auxiliares erant in sinistro cornu" used a little earlier. In the *Brevis Relatio* the feigned flight is said to be "ex altera parte" from the Duke, but as it is there placed at the beginning of the battle, it seems to be confused

with the real flight of the Bretons, so that we can build nothing on the details.

³ *Carmen de Bello Hasting.* 11432-5 (J.A. Giles, *Scriptores* p. 42); *Roman de Rou* (Andressen) 11.8205, 8305, 8261, 8319 "un soldeier de France," cf. 1.7678, Taylor, pp. 200-3.

⁴ Sir James Ramsay, *Foundations of Eng.* ii., 32.

⁵ Giles, *Scriptores* p. 42;

Sic nemo Angligenum ducitur ad nihilum. Cum dux prospexit regens super ardua montis Acriter instantes dilacerare suos...

struck on the eastern half of their line, which had been weakened by the feigned flight and therefore invited attack, or at least not west of their centre. If it had been their right wing that was broken, they would probably have been cut off on the north-west and driven north-east towards Little Park. This agrees with such indication as we have in the authorities, for the three lords who are named by Guy as specially concerned with Eustace in Harold's death all came from the east, from Ponthieu near Amiens, Bolbec near Havre (Giffard) and Montfort by Port Audemer, and were therefore presumably in the eastern or right half of the central Norman division.

The disaster described as in Malfosse by the abbey chronicler clearly happened, as he says it did, at the end of the battle in the pursuit,¹ for Malfosse lay west-north-west of the Abbey, behind the ridge of battle. The place was "still called Malfosset" (MS. Malfos sed) when he wrote in 1180, but in later abbey documents Manfosse, in which the final e would be pronounced. Sir Augustus Webster, the owner of Battle Abbey, points out that there is a strong likeness to Manfossé in the name of Mansey or Manser's (pronounced Marnser's) which still belongs to a shaw and to fields on the west side of it² 800-900 yards north-west of the Abbey. The original name being Malfosset, corruption was easy to Manfossé, (? Manfsey), Mansey and finally Manser's. Manser's Shaw lies along the 'gill' which, starting³ a little west of the Drill Hall from a spring 100 yards south of the Ashburnham road, opposite points marked 294 in the 1-inch map and 296 in the 6-inch, runs south for 500 yards till it meets, almost at a right angle, the western end of the ridge of battle.⁴ The identity of this gill with Malfosse(t) is confirmed by documentary evidence. In 1240-80 there were "nine acres called Wincestre croft in Manfosse."⁵ The name seems now to be quite lost, but Mr. M. A. Lower wrote in 1851, apparently on the authority of Mr. Vidler of Battle, that Wincestre croft was then "still known" and lay "west-by-north of the town."⁶ Moreover, in a deed of 1332 it is associated with the North Road and Domesdayland.⁷ Now Domesdayland is identified by the manor map of 1811. It lay near the north-western end of the town, just on the north side of the present Ashburnham road nearly opposite the head-

¹ Battle Chron., p. 5 (Dugd. Monast. iii., 240 b); Lower, p. 6. The chronicle is confirmed by William of Jumièges, vii. 36.

² "Manser's shaw" is part of 903 b (Vane) in the tithe survey. The fields Nos. 1152-3 of the 25 inch ordnance map, "Manser's" in the present terrier (Nos. 405-6), were "Mansey" in 1538 (Monast. iii. 255) and in the estate map of 1724; (1152 is No. 332 in the map of 1859 in the estate office).

³ The top of the gill for 100 yards above the shaw is shallow and does not show in the ordnance map.

⁴ Below this the gill turns south-west into Sacristy, vulgo Sextry, wood (called Saxon wood in the 6 inch ordnance map) which is in the ravine marked *d* in Freeman's map.


⁵ Thos. Thorpe's Catalogue of Battle Abbey Charters, p. 31, No. 3, dated circ. 1240 by the witnesses (see those on p. 45), and p. 50, No. 4, dated 1279.

⁶ Lower, Ab. Chron. p. 6-7, note 12; Suss. Arch. Soc. Trans. vi. 28, 40. He does not go into detail. He seems to have missed the name of Manser's

shaw, for he wants to put Malfosse half a mile away, in the valley of the Brede on the other (north) side of the ridge which carries the Ashburnham road.

⁷ "I give also two [crofts] called Northrode... and a croft called Caldebek and a croft called Wynchestrecroft, with half of a field called Domesdayelond," &c. Thorpe, *ibid.*, p. 68, No. 7, but his abstract is *very* inaccurate; Mr. Fitzroy Fenwick has kindly furnished me with extracts from the original MSS. now at Thirlstaine House, Cheltenham. For Caldebek croft see also p. 72, No. 4, p. 37, No. 3. 'Caldebek meyde about 15a.', associated in 1538 (Monast. iii. 255) with Bencroft and Stewe meyde, seems to be Sheeping or Shepton lane field (17a. tithe No. 898, O.S. No. 1155) east of Manser's shaw and south of 'the Stews' and 'Bench walk.' It must have been another Caldebek which named Caldebek hill, half a mile to the north-east, probably the spring between the windmill and Fuller's farm. Duplication of such descriptive names is common enough.

spring of the Manser's Shaw gill ; but it was south of the old road, inside the semicircular plot which is enclosed behind the police station between the bend of the old road and the newer piece of road on which the Drill Hall stands. The three miles of the Ashburnham and Lewes road nearest Battle, though to suit the ground they run east and west, are part of the old ridgeway through Heathfield known to this day as the "north-trade" or "north road,"¹ which was probably the road by which Harold marched from London. Another deed of 1322 granted "lands which were formerly John atte Bure's lying . . . in breadth between the land called Domesdayeland on the north and the lands of P. and of R. M. on the south,"² and the lands therein granted probably covered the land of John atte Bure "in Manfosse" from which rent had been assigned by him to the Abbot in 1302.³

Taking all the evidence together there can be no doubt that the part of the township named after Malfosse lay south of the Ashburnham Road towards Manser's Shaw and that the original Malfosse was in Manser's Shaw gill. The gill is of this section  the eastern bank being very much higher and steeper than the western, which, except for a ditch at the bottom increasing gradually from 5 feet deep at the top of the shaw to 12 or 15 feet 400 yards lower down, slopes pretty gently up the hill. The term "agger" therefore used by William of Jumièges⁴ is not altogether unsuitable, at least at the top of the shaw. The actual point of disaster seems likely to have been at this north end of the shaw, for the accounts imply something of a trap. While above the end of the shaw the head of the gill is shallow, just where it enters the shaw the eastern bank increases in height very rapidly to 15 or 20 feet and is pretty steep. The lie of the ground is such that in a failing light the Normans, galloping from the south-east to cut off the English fleeing along the 'north road' by which they had come, might not notice this change—especially if the fugitives were seen to cross without difficulty the shallower part of the gill just above.⁵ The trees and underwood of the present shaw are modern ;⁶ in 1066 probably the sides of the gill both above and below this point were for the most part only clothed with rough grass and brambles mixed with bushes. Where the gill is deeper it is less of a trap; the ravine of Sextry wood is deep, but would not be a trap at all—it would be too visible.

Santlache, later Sandlake, lately Sanguelake, was in 1240-50 the name of one of the four tithings or "boroughs" of Battle.⁷ The "borough" began at the east-end of St. Mary's, the parish church,⁸ included the houses on the village street, here called Upper and Lower Lake—appar-

¹ "Northtrade" in the 6 inch ordnance map, "north road" in the estate maps of 1724. Domesdayland lay below the 282 in Freeman's map.

² Thorpe, *ibid.*, p. 64, No. 4, but the abstract is again inaccurate.

³ Thorpe, *ibid.*, p. 55, No. 2.

⁴ *Crescentes herbe antiquum aggerem tegebant*, vii. 36. He is not likely to have seen the ground himself.

⁵ This is suggested by Will. of Malmesbury, if it is Malfosse that he introduces after the feigned flight.

⁶ Even in 1724 the map shows between Mansey

Shaw and Sextry wood a considerable gap, now filled up with trees.

⁷ Thos. Thorpe's Catalogue of Battle Abbey documents, pp. 9 No. 8, 17 No. 3, 46 No. 7,—the witnesses fix the date as 1240-50, cf. p. 45—also p. 54 No. 1, p. 56 Nos. 4, 5. The other boroughs were Montjoy (p. 51 No. 3, 1284), Middleburgh, which reached from the west-end of St. Mary's church (p. 147, No. 8) to the south-end of Mount Street, and Telham ; a fifth was made later and named after Uckham, which lay on the east of the Whatlington Road south-west of Petley wood.

⁸ Thorpe, *ibid.* p. 147. No. 8.

ently on both sides of it¹—and Lake meadow on the north side of Marley Lane west of the school, and extended south-west along the Hastings road and west towards Marley. In the 12th century survey of Battle we find “Santlache”—the northern end of it—east of the abbey, but whether it was then already a “borough” or only a fieldname is not clear.²

NOTE TO P. 227.

Wace says that many Normans fell in real flight into a fossé or trench, which in their advance they had passed ‘en belivant.’ He apparently puts this flight early in the battle and should therefore mean the flight of the Bretons and the left wing. He seems to be confirmed by the tapestry, but its evidence is not very clear; if it were not for Wace’s story, we might think that the tumbling horses of Nos. 70-1 had been merely knocked backwards from the side of the hill;³ nor is it clear how far attention was paid to strict order of time, either by the tapestry or even by the poets and historians, in giving various incidents and exploits in the battle. Henry of Huntingdon says nothing of a real flight and assigns a “fovea magna” to the feigned one,⁴ but Wace’s story appears to be the more probable. Its chief interest is perhaps to illustrate his conception of the battlefield, which does not seem to have been very clear or at least is not clearly expressed. As William’s army spread from the valley near the Hastings road right and left up the hill the head of the Asten brook was on their left. The Bretons on the left wing would in their advance pass the brook “en belivant” (? skirting it, diagonally, or in deploying), but would be likely to fall across it in their flight; Wace will therefore agree with the ground.⁵ “Fossé” perhaps implies, like “trench,” an artificial element⁶ and this fossé seems to be the same as that ‘on one side’ mentioned in *L.7,869*;

(Engleis) Un fossé ont d’une part fait
Qui parmi la champagne vait.

¹ Mr. Sheppard, late steward of the manor, kindly tells me that he can identify as tenements in Sanguelake the Chequers Inn on the south of Upper Lake and, on the north side, the fourth house from the church, as well as Lake meadow. The last (four acres, tithe No. 933 terrier f. 24; ordnance No. 985) stretches down the northern slope of the ridge; its name may be modern.

² Battle Chron. p. 23 (not in *Monasticon*); Lower p. 24. “Next the town on the east side [*i.e.* east of High Street and north-east of the abbey] are 11 acres . . . called Cook’s land. After them lie five acres (*usque juxta*) reaching to Santlache [which was therefore east of the abbey]; there also is one acre where the Guildhall stands.” The land south-east of the abbey, reaching down the east side of the road, is given thus (p. 19) “*Santlache* unto the infirmary [on the Hastings road near the Station, Thorpe pp. 118 No. 3, 147 No. 8] are 31 acres called Dunc.” Does this mean “in” or (starting) “at” Santlache? If “in” it may have been already a “borough.” There follow, on the west of the road, south-south-east of the abbey, 36 acres in Celvetege, 12 of glebe and 15 of Chapenore. The glebe is clearly that (now sold) in the tithe survey f. 25, Nos. 1203, 1044-5 (ordnance Nos. 937, 933, pt. 935, pt. 934), lying at the back of the tannery, on both sides the railway just south-west of the road, which was about 10 acres plus

nearly three acres of railway. Chapenore was within the borough of Telham (Thorpe, p. 118. No. 3.) Then come “four acres called Quarrere” (*i.e.* quarry), between the abbey and “the fish pond to the south,” which is easily identified at the top of the Asten brook. The large pond in the park a little lower down has been made since 1830. The actual quarry was clearly Freeman’s (semi-)detached hill, which has been obviously quarried.

³ The Asten (sometimes taken for a palisade) is indicated in the background, but that may be only to mark locality. If No. 70 represents Wace’s fossé and No. 71 the slaughter of the English, which was an incident of the rally, then William raising his helmet (No. 73) ought to come between them.

⁴ William of Malmesbury introduces a fossé after the feigned flight, but with a vague “item” which seems to leave the exact time uncertain. He may be thinking of the true Malfosse after the battle or possibly of an incident at the beginning.

⁵ En la champagne out un fossé;

Normans l’aveient adossé

En beluiant l’orent passé

Ne l’aveint mie esgardé. *II.8103-6.*

⁶ It was not confined to an entrenchment, nor did it involve a bank. See Godefroy’s Dict., *fossé*, and Littré.

so that Wace appears to have conceived that the English had in places dug out or dammed up the brook ; but that could easily be done, as is shewn by the position of the present fishponds.

A fossé is mentioned earlier in ll. 6991-4.

Herault a le lieu esgardé,
Closre le fist de boen fossé,
De treis parz laissa treiz entrees,
Qu'il a garder a commandees.¹

This fossé ought to mean the same fossé as that in ll. 7869 and 8103 and there seems no good reason to doubt that it is the same, *i.e.* the (modified) Asten. "Closre le fist" in l. 6992 need mean no more than 'fenced' or 'defended' the position, (on one side) by damming the Asten, and the three entrances would be above, between and below the two upper fishponds of to-day ; but Wace's whole conception of the ground seems rather vague. There is really nothing to connect this fossé in l. 6992 with the abattis which he conceived to be on the top of the hill ;² there is nothing to suggest a fossé in his description of it, and ll. 8585-92 seem to imply that when the abattis was gone (*les lices sont totes desfaites*) the ground there presented no further obstacle.³ Whether Wace's fosse disaster early in the battle was a confusion with that in the pursuit at Malfosse, or whether there were two such disasters, we cannot tell. It is possible that Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, who put the fosse in an intermediate place, near the end of the battle, but before the final victory, were trying to harmonise a double tradition which really belonged to two separate incidents.

¹ According to Wace Harold arrived on Thursday, the battle being on Saturday, and a fear of night attacks would seem to have been prevalent.

² Probably from a misunderstanding of William of Malmesbury (see Round, *Feudal England* p. 414, and above p. 223 note 10), though it is possible Wace may be only borrowing William's phrases to express his own ideas:—

Fet orent devant els escuz,

De fenestres e d'altres fuz, etc. ll. 7815-26.

The "fenestres" have been a difficulty, but

did the rustic always keep a regular shield ? The loose shutter which closed his window at night might be a handy substitute, if he was called out in a hurry, and Wace might think that the rear ranks could easily spare their shutters for a barricade.

³ "Ne doterent pel ne fosse" l. 8499 is very vague. In ll. 7729 7799, (*un champ*) "*porpris*" seems to mean "occupied" not "enclosed"—it looks like a translation of the *præoccupaverere* of William of Poitiers.

INDEX OF PLACES

The Domesday name is given in brackets, where it begins with a different letter from the modern name the place is entered under both letters. This is an Index to the tables, but references to the 'Notes' have been added where it seemed necessary. The letters in brackets or italics show differences of spelling, but it has not seemed necessary to give all the Domesday variations.

BEDFORDSHIRE

- (Achelei) Oakley 175, 188.
 (Aisseworde) Eyworth 181.
 Amphill (Ammetelle) 186.
 Arlesey (Alricesie) 176, 183.
 Aspley Guise (Aspeleia) 185.
 Astwick (Estwiche) 181.
 Barford, Gt. (Bereforde) 180.
 Barford, Lit. (Bereforde) 181.
 Barton (Bertone) 184.
 Battlesden (Badelestone) 185.
 Bedford (Bedeford) 176.
 Beeston (Bistone) 191.
 Biddenham (Bideham) 175, 182.
 Biggleswade (B(P)ichele-) 181.
 Biscot (Bissopescothe) 184.
 Blotsoe (Ble(a)cheshou) 182.
 Blunham (Bluneham) 191.
 Bolnhurst (Bu(o)lehestre) 175, 188.
 Bromham (Brim(un)eham) 182.
 Broom (Brume) 191.
 Caddington (Cadendone) 184.
 Cainhoe (Chainehou) 184.
 Campton (Chambelt-) 175, 183.
 Cardington (Chernetone) 191.
 Carlton (Carlentone) 189.
 Chalgrave (Celgrave) 176, 185.
 (Chainhalle) Renhold 175, 178, 180.
 (Chaisot) Keysoe 176, 187.
 Charlton (Cerlentone) 191.
 Chawston (Chauelstorne) 175, 180.
 (Chenemondewicke) 181.
 (Chenotinga) Knotting 187.
 Clapham (Clopcham) 176, 188.
 Clifton (Clistone) 183.
 Clophill (Clopelle) 184.
 (Colden-) Goldington 175, 178, 180.
 Colmworth (Cu(o)lme-) 180.
 Cople (Chochepeol) 191.
 Cranfield (Cranfelle) 177, 186.
 (Cravenhest)Gravenhurst 175, 184.
 Crawley, Husb. (Cravelai) 185.
 (Cudesane) 175, 183.
 Dean (Dene) 176, 187.
 (Dodintone)Taddington 176, 185.
 Dunton (Dai(o)ntone) 181.
 Eaton Bray (Eitone) 175, 187.
 Eaton Socon (Etone) 180.
 (Echam) Higham Gob. 175, 184.
 Edlesborough (Edingeb-) 187.
 Edworth (Edeworde) 181.
 Elstow (Elnestou) 186.
 (Elvendone) 188.
 (Esseltone) Shelton 186.
 (Estodham) Studham 187.
 (Estone) Staughton 188.
 (Estwiche) Astwick 181.
 Eversholt (Evreshol) 185.
 Everton (Evretone) 178, 189.
 Eyworth (Aisseworde) 181.
 Farndish (Fernadis) 190.
 Felmersham (Flammeres-) 189.
 Flitt hundred 175 note.
 Flitton (Flichtham) 184.
 Flitwick (Flicetwiche) 186.
 (Giveldene) Yelden 187.
 Gladley (Gledelai) 187.
 Goldington (G(C)oldentone) 175, 178, 180.
 Gravenhurst (Crauenhest) 175, 184.
 (Hanefelde) 188.
 Harlington (Herlingd-) 176, 185.
 Harrold (Harewelle) 190.
 Harrowden (Hergentone) 191.
 Hatley (Hatelai) 178, 189.
 Haynes (Hagenes) 177, 184.
 Henlow (Haneslawe) 183.
 Higham Gob. (Echam) 175, 184.
 Hinwick (Hanewic) 175, 190.
 Hockliffe (Hocheleia) 185.
 Holme (Holme) 181.
 Holwell (Holewelle) 183.
 Honneyhill (Hanefelde) 183.
 Houghton Conq. (H)Oustone) 176, 186.
 Houghton Regis (Houstone) 185.
 Hulcote (Holecote) 185.
 Kempstone (Camestone) 186.
 Keysoe (Chaisot) 176, 187.
 Knotting (Chenotinga) 187.
 (Lalega) Thurleigh 190.
 Langford (Langeford) 181.
 Leighton Buz. (Lestone) 187.
 Lidlington (Litingeletone) 186.
 Luton (Loitone) 177, 184.
 Marston (Merestone) 186.
 Maulden (Meldone) 186.
 Melchbourne (Melcebourne) 187.
 Meppershall (Malpertesselle) 183.
 Milbrook (Melebroc) 186.
 Millow (Melehou) 181.
 Milton Bryant (Milddetone) 185.
 Milton Ernest (Milddetone) 175, 188.
 (Newentone) 188.
 Northill (Nortgivele) 191.
 Oakley (Achelei) 175, 188.
 Odecroft hundred, 176 note.
 Odell (Wadehelle) 190.
 (Otone) Wootton 186.
 (Oustone) Houghton C. 176, 186.
 Pavenham (Pabeneham) 182.
 Pegsdon (Pechesdone) 184.
 Pertenhall (Partenhale).
 (Pichele-) Biggleswade 181.
 (Pileworde) Tilsforth 187.
 Poddington (Podintone) 190.
 Polehanger 183.
 Pottesgrove (Potesgrave) 185.
 Potton (P'otone) 178, 189.
 Priestley (Prestalai) 185.
 Pulloxhill (Polochessele) 184.
 Putnoe (Putenehou) 182.
 Radwell (Radewelle) 180.
 Renhold (Chainhalle) 189.
 Risely (Riselai) 187.
 Roxton (Rochesdone) 180.
 Rushden (Risedene) 190.
 Salford (Saleford) 185.
 Salpho, (Salchou) 177 n, 180.
 Sandy (Sandeia) 189.
 Segenhoe (Segenhou) 186.
 (Segresdone) 188.
 Sewell (Sewell) 187.
 Sharnbrook (Scernebroc) 190.
 Shelton (Eselstone) 186.
 Shillington (Sethlindone) 183.
 Silsoe (Si(e)wilessou) 184.
 Southill (Sudgivele) 191.
 Stagsden (Stachedene) 182.
 Stanford (Stanforde) 191.

Stanwick (Stanewiga) 188.
 Staughton (Estone) 188.
 Steppingley (Stepigelai) 186.
 Steventon (Stiventone) 182.
 Stondon (Standone) 183.
 Stotfold (Stotfalt) 183.
 Stratton (Stratone) 181.
 Streatley (Straid-) 175, 178, 184.
 Studham (Estodham) 187.
 Sudbury (Subberie) 180.
 Sundon (Sonedone) 184.
 Sutton (Sudtone) 189.

Tempsford (Tamiseforde) 181.
 Thurleigh (Lalega) 190.
 Tilbrook (Tillebroc) 177 n, 187.
 Tilsworth (Pileworde) 187.
 Tingrith (Tingrei) 185.
 Toddington (Dodint-) 176, 185.
 Totternhoe (Totenehou) 187.
 Turvey (Tornvei) 189.

(Wadehelle) Odell 190.
 Warden (Wardone) 191.
 Westcot (Westcote) 186.
 Westoning (Westone) 176.
 Wilden (Wildene) 180.
 Willington (Welit-) 177 n, 191.
 Wilshamstead (Winessame) 186.
 Wimington (Wimentone) 190.
 Woburn (Woberne) 185.
 Wootton (Otone) 186.
 Wrestlingworth 179.
 Wyboston (Wiboldestone) 180.

Yelden (Giveldene) 187.

BERKSHIRE

(Acenge) 73.
 Aldworth (Elleorde) 67.
 Aldermaston (Heldremanes-) 69.
 (Aneburne) Enborne 57.
 Appleford (Apleford) 73.
 Appleton (Apletone) 65.
 Ardington (Ardintone) 75.
 Ashbury (Eiseberie) 67.
 Ashridge (Assedone) 67.
 Aston (Estone) 53.
 Avington (Avintone) 57.

Bagnor (Bagenore) 73.
 Bagshot (Bechesgete) 46, 49, 57.
 Barkham (Bercheham) 55.
 Barton (Bertune) 63.
 Basildon (Bastedene) 63.
 Bayworth (Baiorde) 63.
 Beckett (Becote) 71.
 Beedon (Bedene) 71.
 Benham (Benneham) 44, 57.
 Betterton (Bedretone) 75.
 Beynhurst hundred 40, 43.
 Bisham (Bisteham) 53.
 Blewbury (Blitberie) 53.
 Bockhampton (Bochentone) 65.
 Boxford (Bochesorne) 44, 57.
 Bradfield (Bradefelt) 69.
 Bradley Court 71.
 Bray (Brai, Bras) 53.
 Brightwalham (Bristoldes-) 67.
 Brightwell (Bristowelle) 63.
 Brimpton (Brintone) 73.
 Buckland (Bocheland) 61.
 Bucklebury (Borchedeb-) 49, 55.

Burghfield (Borgefelle) 69.
 (Burlei) 69.
 Buscot (Boroardescote) 77.

Calcot (Colecote) 57.
 Carswell (Cherswelle) 44, 73.
 Catmore (Catmere) 67.
 Chaddlesworth (Cedeledorde) 59.
 Challow (Ceveslane ?ue) 44, 59.
 Charlton (Cerletone) 75.
 Charney (Cernei) 61.
 (Chenetberie) Kintbury 57.
 Chieveley (Civelei)
 Childrey (Celrea) 75.
 Chilton (Cilletone) 67.
 (Chingestune) Kingston 65.
 Cholsey (Celsea) 63.
 Clapcott (Clopecote) 63.
 Clewer (Clivore) 71.
 (Cochestroe) Westrop 55.
 Coleshill (Coleshalle) 47, 77.
 Compton (Contone) 67.
 Compton Beauch. (Contone) 67.
 Cookham (Cocheham) 48, 53.
 Coxwell (Cocheswelle) 77.
 Crookham (Crocheham) 73.
 Cumnor (Comenore) 63.
 Curridge (Coserige) 73.
 Dedworth (Dideorde) 71.
 Denchworth (Denchesore) 75.
 Denford (Daneford) 51.
 Didcot (Wibalditone) 40, 53.
 Donnington (Deritone) 73.
 Draycot (Draicote) 65.
 Drayton (Draitone) 73.
 Duxford (Dochesiorde) 61.

Earley (Herlei) 55.
 Easthampstead (Lachenes-) 71.
 Eaton (Elditune) 65.
 Eaton Hastings (Etone) 77.
 (Ebrige) 57.
 Eddington (Eddevetone) 57.
 (Eiseberie) Ashbury 67.
 (Eldeorde) Aldworth 67.
 (Elentone) Maidenhead 53.
 Eling (Elinge) 55.
 Enborne (T)Aneborne 57.
 Englefield (Ingletei) 69.
 (Eseldeborne) Shalbourn 46, 57.
 (Essage) Shaw 73.
 (Estone) Aston 53.
 (Estraillei) Streatley 63.
 (Etingedene) Yattendon, 55.

Faringdon (Ferendone) 77.
 Farnborough (Fermeberge) 67.
 Fawley (Falleslei) 59.
 Fifield (Fivehide) 65.
 Finchampstead (Finchame-) 55.
 Frilford (Frieliford) 65.
 Frilsham (Frilesham) 55.
 Fulscot (Follescote) 53.

Ganfield hundred 40.
 Garford (Wareford) 65.
 (Genitune) Kennington 63.
 Ginge, West (Gainz) 75.
 Goosey (Gosei) 65.
 Greenham (Greneham) 73.

Hagborne (Hacheborne) 53.
 Hampstead Mar. (Hamest-) 57.
 Hampstead Nor. (Hamst-) 47, 55.

Hanney (Hanlei) 45, 65, 77.
 Hartridge (Hurtrige) 69.
 Harwell (Harowelle) 53.
 Hatford (Hevaforde) 44, 61.
 (Heldremanes-) Aldermaston 69.
 Hendred (Henret) 73, 77.
 (Herlei) Earley 55.
 Hinton (Hentone) 61.
 Hodcot (Hodicote) 67.
 (Hurlei) 40, 69.
 Hurley (Herlei) 53.

Ilsley (Hildeslei) 44, 57.
 do (Hislelei) 67.
 (Ingelfel) Englefield, 69.
 Inglewood (Ingelflot) 57.
 Inkpen (Hingepene) 57.

Kennington (Genitune) 63.
 Kingston (Chingestune) 65.
 Kintbury (Chenetberie) 57.
 Knighton (Nistetone) 67.

(Lachenes-) Easthampstead 71.
 Lambourn (Lamborne) 65.
 (Leie) Oakley 65.
 Letcombe (Ledencumbe) 45, 59.
 Leverton (Lewartone) 57.
 (Liarecote) 61.
 Littleworth (Ordia) 61.
 Lockinge (Lachinges) 75.
 Lollington (Lolindone) 63.
 (Lonchelei) 69.
 Longworth (Ordam) 61.
 (Losefelle) 71.
 Lyford (Linford) 65.

Maidenhead (Elentone) 53.
 Marcham (Merceham) 65.
 Midgham (Migeham), 73.
 Milton (Middeltune) 73.
 Moreton (Mortune) 53.

(Nachededorne) 39, 46, 67.
 Newbury (Ulvritone) 73.
 Newton (Newetone) 44, 61.
 (Nistetune) Knighton 67.

Oakfield (Offelle) 69.
 Oakley (Leie) 65.
 Odstone (Ordegaston) 67.
 (Offentone) Uffington 67.
 (Offetune) Ufton 69.
 (Ollavintone) Woolhampton 69.
 (Olricestone) Woolstone 67.
 (Olvelei) Woolley 59.
 (Optone) Upton 53.
 (Ordam) Longworth, 61.
 (Ordia) Littleworth 61.
 (Ortune) 71.

Padworth (Peteorde) 69.
 Pangbourne (Pande-) 46 n, 69.
 Peasmore (Praxemere) 44, 71.
 Purlei (Porlei) 69.
 Pusey (Peise) 61.

Reading (Redinges) 69.
 Remenham (Rameham) 55.

Seacourt (Seaveoorde) 63.
 Shalbourn (Eseldeborne) 46, 57.
 Shaw (Essage) 73.
 Sheffield (Sewelle) 69.
 Shefford (Siford) 59.

Shellingford (Serिंगeforde) 61.
Shinfield (Selिंगefelle) 55.
Shippon (Sipene) 63.
Shottesbrook (Sotesbroc) 53.
Shrivenham (Seriveham) 71.
Sonning (Soninges) 55.
Sotwell (Sotwelle) 63.
Southcote (Sudcote) 69.
Sparsholt (Spersolt) 44, 67, 75.
Speen (Spone) 73.
Stanford (Stanford) 61.
Stanford Ding. (Stanworde) 55.
Steventon (Stivetune) 73.
Stratfield (Stradfeld) 46, 69.
Streathley (Estrailci) 63.
Sugworth (Sogoorde) 63.
Sulham (Soleham) 69.
Sutton (Sudtone) 73.
Swallowfield (Soanesfelt) 55.

(Taneburne) Enborne 57.
Thatcham (Taceham) 73.
Tubney (Tobenie) 65.

Uffington (Offentone) 67.
Ufton (Offetune) 69.
(Ulvritone) Newbury 73.
Upton (Optone) 53.

Wallingford 63.
Waltham (Waltham) 53.
Wantage (Wanetintz) 75.
(Wareford) Garford 65.
Warfield (Warwelt) 71.
Wargrave (Wergrave) 55.
Wasing (Walsince) 73.
Watchfield (Wachenesfeld) 71.
Welford (Waliford) 71.
Well House (Wille) 55.
Westrop (Crochestrope) 55.
Whatcombe (Watecumbe) 59.
Whistley (Wiselei) 55.
Whitley (Witelai) 69.
(Wibalditone) Didcot 40, 53.
Windsor (Windsore) 48, 71.
Winkfield (Wenesfelle) 48, 71.
Winterbourne (Wintrebune) 71.
Wittenham (Witeham) 73.
Woolhampton (Ollavintone) 69.
Woolley (Olvelei) 59.
Woolstone (Olricense) 67.
Wytham (Winteham) 63.

Yattendon (Etingdene) 55.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

(Ahecote) Edgecot 157.
(Achelei) Akeley 159.
(Achelei) Oakley 155.
Addingrove (Eddingrave) 155.
Addington (Edintone) 157.
Adstock (Edestocha), 157.
(Ambretone) Emberton 169.
Amersham (Elmodes-) 139, 145.
Ashendon (Essedene) 153.
Aston Abbots (Estone) 161.
Aston Clinton (do) 149.
Aston Ivinghoe (do) 163.
Aston Sandford (do) 131, 147, 153.
Aylesbury (Eilesberia) 149.

Barton (Bertone) 157.
Beachampton (Beccentone) 157.

Beachington (Bichedone) 153.
Bedgrove (Begrave) 149.
(Berlave) in Marlow 134, 147.
Bidlesden (Bechtesdene) 159.
Bierton (Bortone) 149.
Bledlow (Bledelai) 149.
Bourton (Bortone) 157.
Boveney (Bovenie) 145.
Bradenham (Bradeham) 147.
Bradwell (Bradewelle) 171.
Brickhill (Brichella) 169.
Brill (Brunhelle) 153.
(Broch) 133, 147.
Broughton (Brotone) 149.
Buckingham (Bochingeham) 157.
Buckland (Bocheland) 149.
Burnham (Burneham) 145.
E. Burnham (Estburneham), 145.
Burston (Bricstoch) 132, 161.

Caldecote (Caldecot) 171.
Caversfield (Cavrefelle) 132, 157.
Calverton (Calvretone) 171.
Chalfont (Celfunde) 145.
Charnon (Credendone) 157.
Cheddington (Cetedone) 163.
(Cheldes-) Shalleston 134, 140, 159
(Chenebella) Kimble 151.
(Chentone) Quainton 153.
Chersley (Cerd(heslai) 153.
Chesham (Cestreham) 145.
Chetwode (Ceteode) 157.
Chicheley (Cecelai) 169.
Chilton (Ciltone) 155.
Claydon (Claindone) 155, 157.
Clifton Reynes (Clystone) 169.
Chippenharn (Dileherst) 132, 135.
Crendon (Credendone) 155.
Creslow (Cresselai) 161.
Crofton (Croustone) 161.
Cublington (Coblincote) 161.

Datchet (Daceta) 103, 147.
Denham (Daneham) 147.
(Dileherst) Chippenharn 132, 145.
Dinton (Danitone) 151.
Ditton (Ditone) 147.
Dodford (Dodefode) 159.
Dorney (Dornei) 145.
Dorton (Dortone) 155.
Drayton (Draintone) 163, 165.
Droitwich (Wicg).
Dunton (Dodintone) 165.

Easington (Hesintone).
Eaton, Water (Etone) 130, 134, 171.
(Eddingrave) Addingrove 155.
Eddlesbro' (Eddinberge) 163.
(Edestocha) Adstock 157.
Edgecot (Ahecote), 157.
(Edinberge) Lenborough 133, 157.
(Edintone) Addington 157.
(Eie) Kingsey 155.
(Eilesberia) Aylesbury 149.
Ellesborough (Esenberge) 149.
(Elmodes-) Amersham 139, 145.
Elstrop (Helpestrope) 161.
Emberton (Ambretone) 169.
(Essedene) Ashendon 153.
(Estburneham) E. Burnham 145.
(Estone) see Aston.
Eton (Etitone) 145.
Eversaw (Euresel) 159.
(Evingehou) Ivinghoe 163.
(Evreham) Iver 94, 147.

Farnham (Ferneham) 130, 147.
Fawley (Falelie) 147.
Foscott (Foxescote) 159.

Gawcot (Chauescote) 157.
Gayhurst (Gateherst) 167.
Granborough (Greneberge).
Grendon (Grennedone) 153.
Grove (Langrave) 132, 161.

Haddenham (Nedreham) 151.
Halton (Haltone) 130, 149.
Hambleton (Hanbledene) 147.
Hampton (Hamdenam) 131,
137-8, 151.
Hanslope (Hamescle) 135, 167.
Hardmead (Herulsmede) 103, 169.
Hardwick (Harduich) 161.
Hartwell (Herdewelle) 151.
(Haseleie) 133, 157.
Haversham (Havresham) 167.
(Helpestrope) Elstrop 161.
(Hesintone) Easington 155.
(Hibestanes) Ibston 147.
Hillesdon (Il)Ulesdone) 157.
Hitcham (Hucheham) 145.
Hoggeston (Hochestone) 130, 155.
Hogshaw (Hocsaga) 155.
Hollington (Holendone) 161.
Horsenden (Horsedene) 149.
Horton (Hortone) 147, 163.
Horwood (Hereworde) 165.
Hughenden (Haneche-) 134, 147.
do (Huchedene) 147.

Ibston (Hibestanes) 147.
Ickford (Iforde) 134, 155.
(Ilesdone) Hillesdon, 157.
Ilmer (Imere) 153.
Iver (Evreham) 147.
Ivinghoe (Evingehou) 163.

Kimble (Chenebella) 151.
Kingsey (Eie) 155.
Langport (Lanport) 159.
(Langrave) Grove ? 132, 161.
Lathbury (Latesberie) 167.
Lavendon (Lawendene) 167.
Leckhampstead (Lechams) 159.
Lenborough (Ledingberge) 157.
(Lesa) ? Studley, 133, 155.
Lillingston (Lclinchese-) 132, 159.
Linchade (Lincelada) 161.
Linford (Linforde) 49, 167, 171.
Littlecot (Litecota) 161.
Loughton (Lochinstone) 171.
Lude (Lede) 145.
Ludgershall (Lotegarser) 153.

Maids-Morton (Mortone) 159.
Marlow (Merlaue) 147.
Marsh Gibbon (Mersa) 134, 157.
Marston (Merstone) 155.
Marsworth (Misseuorde) 163.
Medmenham (Medemeham) 147.
Mentmore (Mentmore) 161.
Milton (Midelstone) 169.
Missenden (Miseddene) 151.
Moulsoe (Moleshou) 129, 169.
Mursley (Muselai) 129, 165.

(Nedreham) Haddenham 151.
Newport (Newp) 134, 136, 171.
Newton (Neutone) 171.

Oakley (Achelei) 155.
 Olney (Olnei) 167.
 (Oltone) Wotton 153.
 (Optone) Upton 147, 151.
 Oving (Olvonge) 138, 153.

Padbury (Pateberie) 134, 157.
 Penn 132.
 Pitston (Pincelestorne) 163.
 Policot (Policote) 153.
 Preston (Prestone) 157.

Quainton (Chentone) 153.
 Quarendon (Querendone) 155.

Radcliffe (Radeclive) 159.
 Ravenston (Ravenstone) 167.
 Risborough (Riseberge) 149.

Saldon (Sceldene) 165.
 Sanderton (Santesdone) 147.
 Shabbington (Sobintone) 155.
 Shalstone (Celde-) 134, 140, 159.
 Shenley (Senelai) 136, 165, 171.
 Sherrington (Serintone) 169.
 Shingleborough (Sincleberia) 165.
 Shipton Lee (Sibdone) 153.
 Simpson (Sevenestone) 140, 171.
 Slapton (Slapetone) 163.
 (Sortelai) 153.
 Soulbury (Soleberie) 161.
 Stanton (Stantone) 171.
 Stewkley (Stiuelai) 165.
 Stoke Pogis (Stoches) 147.
 Stoke Hammond (do) 171.
 Stoke Goldington (do) 167.
 Stoke Mandeville (do) 149.
 Stone (Stanes) 103, 151.
 Stowe (Stou) 159.
 Stratford (Stradford) 159.
 (Sudcote) ? in Stone 151.
 Swanbourn (Sueneberie) 165.

Taplow (Thapeslau) 145.
 Tetchwick (Tochingewiche) 153.
 Thornborough (Torneberge) 157.
 Thornton (Ternitone) 157.
 Tickford (Tichef-) 134, 136, 169.
 Tingewick (Teinwiche) 157.
 Turhill (Tilleberie) 147.
 Turweston (Turvestone) 134, 159.
 Twyford (Tueurde) 157.
 Tyringham (Tedlingeham) 167.

(Ulchetone) Woughton 134 n, 171.
 (Ulesdone) Hillesden 157.
 Upton (Opetone) 147, 151.

Waddesdon (Votesdone) 155.
 (Wadone) 163.
 Waldrige (Wadrage) 153.
 Wavendon (Waven-) 139, 169.
 Wendover (Wendovre) 149.
 Westbury (Westberie) 159.
 Weston Tur. (Westone) 149.
 Weston Und. (Westone) 95, 167.
 Whaddon (Wadone) 165.
 Whitchurch (Wichece) 161.
 Winchendon (Wichendone) 153.
 Wing (Witehunge) 161.
 Wingrave (Withungrave) 161.
 Winslow (Weneslai) 165.
 Wirardisbury (Wirecesberie) 147.
 Woburn (Waborne) 145.
 Wolverton (Wluerintone) 171.
 Woolston (Wlsiestone) 171.

Wormenhall (Wermelle) 153.
 Wotton (Oltone) 153.
 Woughton (Ulchetone) 134 n, 171.
 Wycombe (Wicumbel) 145.

HAMPSHIRE

(Achelle) 196.
 (Adelingeham) Ellingham 205.
 (Alwintune) 196.
 Arnewood (Ernemude) 204.
 Ashley (Esselle) 204.
 Avon (Avere) 195 n, 205.

Baddesley (Badeslei) 204.
 Batramsley (Batram-) 196, 200 n,
 Beckley (Be(i)ceslei) 204.
 Bedcot (Bedecote) 196.
 Bikton (Bichetone) 195 n, 205.
 (Bile) 196.
 Birmingham (Bermintune) 204.
 Bistern (Betestre) 205.
 Boldre (Bovre) 196, 198.
 Boldrexford (Bovrexford) 196.
 Brockenhurst (Broceste) 196,
 198, 200.
 Brockley (Brochelle) 196.
 Buckholt (Bocolt) 196, 199 n.

Candover 193.
 (Cantortune) 195 n.
 Christchurch (Tuinam) 199 n,
 201, 205.
 (Cildeest) Yaldhurst 196.
 (Cocherlei) 196, 200 n.
 Cranbourne (Cramburnan) 192.
 Crowe (Crone ? ue) 205.
 Curdridge 193.

Dibden (Depedene) 205.
 Drayton 193.
 Durlley (Derleie) 193, 205.

Eling (Edlinges) 198, 205.
 Ellingham (Adelingeham) 194 n,
 195 n, 202, 205.
 (Ernemude) Arnewood 204.
 (Esselle) Ashley 204.

Farley Chamb. (Torigeleage) 193.
 Fawley (Falalgie) 195 n, 196,
 198.
 Fernhill (Fernehelle) 204.
 Fordingbridge (Forde) 195 n,
 198, 205.
 Fritham (Truham) 195, 196.

Gatewood (Gatingeorde) 196,
 199 n.
 Goreley (Gerlei) 195 n, 205.
 Greatnam (Greteham) 196.

Harbridge (Herdebrige) 205.
 Hardley (Hardelei) 196.
 Hartford (Hariford) 196.
 Hinchelsley (Hincelvellei) 196.
 Hinton (Henton), 204.
 Holdenhurst (Holeest) 198, 202,
 205.
 Hordle (Herdel) 198, 201, 204.

Ibsley (Tibeslei) 195 n, 205.
 (Langelie) 194 n.
 (Lesteorde) Testwood 196.

Lymington (Lentune) 204.
 Lyndhurst (Linhest) 195, 196,
 200 n.

Micheldever 192, 193.
 Milford (Melleforde) 204.
 Milton (Mildetone) 204.
 Minstead (Mintestede) 196, 200 n.

Netley (Nutlei) 195, 196, 199 n.
 Northington 192.

(Odetone) Wootton 196.
 Ossemley (Oselei) 196.
 Otterwood (Otreorde) 196.
 (Oxelle) 196, 200 n.

Pilley (Pistelei) 196.
 Popham 193.

Ringwood (Rinceude) 194 n, 198,
 205.
 Ripley (Riple) 195 n, 205.
 Rockford (Rocheford) 205.
 (Roweste) 196, 200 n.

(Sanhest) 196, 200 n.
 (Slive) 196, 200 n.
 (Slacham) 196.
 Sopley (Sopelle) 195 n, 205.
 Stanwood (Staneude) 204.
 Swaraton 192, 193.
 Sway (Svei) 195 n, 204.

Tatchbury (Teocreberie) 196.
 Testwood (Lesteorde) 196.
 (Tibeslei) Ibsley 195 n, 205.
 (Torigeleage) Farley Chamb. 193.
 (Truam) Fritham 196, 199 n, 201.
 (Tuinam) Christchurch 205.

(Waddanige) 193.
 Walhampton (Walnetune) 204.
 (Wigarestun) 196.
 Winkton (Weringe-) 195 n, 205.
 Wonston 193.
 Wootton (Odetone) 196.

Yaldhurst (Cildeest) 196.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Albury (Eldeberie) 119.
 Aldbury (Aldeberie) 127.
 Aldenham (Eldeham) 109.
 (Alfredawicha) 119.
 Almshoe (Almeshou) 113.
 Alswick (Alsiewiche) 117.
 Amwell (Emmewelle) 106, 121.
 Anstey (Anestige) 96, 119.
 Apsbury (Absa) 109.
 Aspeden (Absesdene) 117.
 Ashwell (Esczewelle) 125.
 Aston (Estone) 95, 113.
 Ayot (Aiete) 113.

Barkway (Berchewei) 117.
 Barley (Berlai) 100, 105 n, 117.
 Barwith (Bereworde) 95, 98, 109.
 Bayford (Begesford) 121.
 Bendish (Benedis) 123.
 Bengoe (Belingehou) 121.
 Bennington (Belintone) 115.
 Berkhamstead (Berch-) 121, 127.
 Berkesden (Berchesdene) 117.

(Blachemene) 121.
 Boreson (Bordesdene) 105, 119.
 Box (Boxe) 115.
 Brantfield (Brandefelle) 121.
 Braughing (Brachinges) 111.
 (Bricewold) 121.
 Brickendon (Brichen-) 95, 121.
 Broadfield (Bradefella) 127.
 Broxbourn (Broches-) 104, 121.
 (Bublecote) Gubblecote 127.
 Buckland (Bochelande) 117.
 (Bure) 97, 127.
 Bushey (Bissei) 109.
 Bygrave (Bigrave) 125.
 Cadington (Cadendone) 109.
 Caldcote (Caldecota) 125.
 (Canesworde) Kensworth 109.
 Cashio (Chaisow) 109.
 (Celgedene) 119.
 Charlton (Cerletone) 123.
 (Cheleselle) Kelshall 125.
 Chells (Scelve, Escelveia) 115.
 (Chenepeworde) Knebworth 113.
 Cheshunt (Cestrehunt) 121.
 Clothall (Cladhele) 127.
 Cockhamstead (Cocheham.) 119.
 Coddicote (Codicote) 113.
 Cokenhatch (Cochenac) 117.
 Corneybury (Corney) 117.
 Cottered (Chodrei) 125.
 Datchworth (Daceworde) 113.
 (Derevelde) Tharfield 125.
 Digswell (Dicheleswelle) 113.
 Dinsley (Deneslai) 123.
 (Dodesdone) Hoddesdon 121.
 Dunsley (Da(e)nesley) 127.
 Eastwick (Estewiche) 111.
 (Eia) 111.
 (Eldeberie) Albury 119.
 (Eldeham) Aldenham 109.
 (Emmewelle) Amwell 106, 121.
 (Erdelai) Yardley 125.
 (Escelveia) Chells 115.
 (Escepehalla) Sheephall 113.
 (Escewelle) Aswell 125.
 (Estone) Aston 95, 113.
 Flamstead (Flamstede) 109.
 (Flesmere) 123.
 (Furrewede) Tharfield 125.
 Gaddesden (Gatesdene) 109.
 Graveley (Gravelai) 105, 115.
 (Gubblecot) Bubblecot 127.
 Hadham (Hadam) 119.
 Haileybury (Haillet) 94, 106, 121.
 (Hainstone) 95, 97, 125.
 (Haslehangra) 117.
 Hatfield (Hetfelle) 113.
 Hemelhamstead (Hename-) 109.
 Hertford (Hertforde) 121.
 Hertfordingbury (Hereford-) 121.
 Hexton (Hegestanestone) 123.
 Hinxworth (Haingeste-) 125.
 Hitchin (Hiz) 123.
 Hoddesdon (Hodes-) 96, 106, 121.
 Hodenhoe (Odenhou) 117.
 Hornead (Horemene) 119.
 Hunsdon (Honesdone) 111.
 Ichetone) Layston 105, 117.

Kelshall (Cheleselle) 125.
 Kendalls (Titeberst) 111.
 Kensworth (Canesworde) 109.
 Kimpton (Kamintone) 123.
 Knebworth (Chenepeworde) 113.
 (Lampeth) 109.
 (Langeport) 117.
 Langley (Langelai) 109, 113.
 Layston (Ichetone) 117.
 (Leglega) 123.
 Letchworth (Leceworde) 104.
 (Lewarewiche) 119.
 Lilley (Linlei) 123.
 Luffenhall (Lufenhale) 125.
 Mardley (Merdelai) 113.
 Measden (Mesdone) 119.
 Meppershall (Mapteshale) 96.
 Minims, North (Mimmine) 111.
 Minsden (Menlesdene) 113.
 Misswell (Mascewelle) 127.
 Munden (Mundene) 115.
 Newnham (Neuham) 125.
 Newsells (Neusela) 117.
 Norton (Nortone) 115.
 Odenhou (Hodenho) 117.
 (Odesdone) Hoddesdon 121.
 Offley (Offelei) 96, 123.
 (Ordewelle) 97, 125.
 Oxwick (Oxewiche)
 Patmore (Patemere) 119.
 Pelham (Pelehem) 103 n, 119.
 Pendley (Pentelai) 127.
 Pirton (Peritone) 96, 104, 123.
 Polehanger (Polehangre) 98.
 (Prichemarewerde) Rickmansworth 109.
 Puttenham (Puteham) 127.
 Redborn (Redborne) 109.
 Reed (Retth, Rete) 97, 125.
 Radwell (Radewelle) 125.
 Rickmansworth (Prichemarewerde) 109.
 (Rodehangra) in Norton 115.
 Roxford (Rochesforde) 121.
 Rushden (Risendene) 127.
 Sacomb (Stuochampa) 103, 113.
 Sandon (Sandone) 125.
 Sandridge (Sandrige) 109.
 Sapeham 119.
 Sawbridgeworth (Sabrixt-) 94, 111.
 Scelve (Chells) 115.
 (Sela) 121.
 Sheephall (Escepehala) 113.
 Shenley (Scenlai) 97, 109.
 Stagenhoe (Stagnehou) 123.
 St. Alban's (St. Albani) 109.
 Standon (Standone), 100 111.
 Stanstead (Stanestede) 103, 111.
 Stevenage (Stigenace) 115.
 (Stiwichesworde) 121.
 Stonebury (Stanes) 111.
 Bp. Stortford (Storteford) 111.
 Stotles (Stuterehele) 105, 115.
 (Sumsersele) 117.
 (Tedricesham) 119.
 Tewing (Tewinge) 97, 121.
 Tharfield (Turrewede) 125.

(Thepecampe) 121.
 (Theunge) 97, 115.
 Thorley (Torlei) 111.
 Throcking (Troching) 105, 117.
 Thundridge (Tonrich) 111.
 Tiscot (Theisseccote) 127.
 Titeberst (Kendalls) 103, 111.
 Tring (Tredunga) 104, 127.
 Wakeley (Wachelei) 105, 117.
 Walden, Paul's (Waldene) 109.
 Walden, King's (Waldenei) 123.
 Walkern (Walchra) 115.
 Wallington (Wallingtone)
 Wandon (Wavedene) 123.
 Ware (Waras) 103, 111.
 Watton (Wodtone) 95, 113.
 (Welei) 123.
 Wellbury (Welle) 123.
 Welwyn (Welge) 97, 113.
 Westmill (Westmele) 111.
 Weston (Westone) 115.
 Westoning (Westone) 98, 106, 123.
 Whethamstead (Watame-) 109.
 Wickham (Wicheham) 105, 111.
 Widford (Wideford) 119.
 Widial (Widihale) 119.
 Wigginton (Wigentone) 127.
 William (Wilge, Welga) 97, 115.
 do (Wilie) 97, 115.
 Wimundley (deslai) 105, 113.
 Windridge (Wenrige) 109.
 (Wlwenewiche) 115.
 Wormley (Wermelai) 121.

Yardley (Erdelai) 125.

MIDDLESEX

(Adelmetone) Edmonton 87.
 Ashford (Exeforde) 93.
 Bedfont (Bedefunt) 82, 93.
 Charlton (Cerdentone) 93.
 Chelsea (Cerce-, Chelched) 91.
 (Chenesit) Kensington 91.
 (Chingesberie) Kingsbury 89.
 Colham (Coleham) 87.
 Cowley (Coueli) 87.
 Cranford (Cranford) 81, 87.
 Dawley (Dallega) 82, 87.
 Drayton (Draitone) 87.
 Ebury (Eia) 81, 91.
 Edmonton (Adelmetone) 87.
 Enfield (Enefelde) 87.
 (Exeforde) Ashford 93.
 Feltham (Felteham) 80, 84, 93.
 Fulham (Fuleham) 89.
 (Gistlesworde) Isleworth 91.
 Greenford (Greneforde) 87.
 Haggerston (Hergotestane) 91.
 Hampstead (Hamestede) 91.
 Hampton (Hamntone) 89.
 Hanwell (Hanewelle) 87.
 Hanworth (Haneworde) 93.
 Harefield (Herrefelle) 87.
 Harlesden (Herelves-) 91, 134.

- Harlington (Herdintone) 87.
 Harmondsworth (Hermodes-) 87.
 Harrow (Herges) 87, 89.
 Hatton (Haitone) 84, 93.
 Hayes (Hesa) 87.
 Hendon (Handone) 89.
 Hillington (Hillendone) 87.
 Holborn (Holeburne) 85.
 Hoxton (Hochestone) 91.

 Ichenham (Ticheham) 82, 87.
 Isleworth (Gistlesworde) 89.
 Islington (Isen(lldone) 91.

 Kempton (Chenetone) 93.
 Kensington (Chenesit-) 91.
 Kingsbury (Chingesberie) 89.

 Laleham (Leleham) 93, 134.
 Lisson Grove (Lilestone) 91.

 Mimms, South (Mimms) 87.

 Newington (Neutone) 91.
 Northolt (Northala) 87.

 Riselip (Rislepe) 87.
 Rugmere (Rugemere) 91.

 Sheperton (Scepertone) 80, 93.
 Staines (Stanes) 93.
 (Stanestaple) 91.
 Stanmore (Stannmere) 83, 89.
 Stanwell (Stanwelle) 93.
 Stepney (Stibenhede) 89, 134.
 St. Pancras (Pancratium) 91.
 Sunbury (Suneberie) 80, 93.

 (Ticheham) Ichenham 87.
 Tolentone (Tolentone) 91.
 Totenham (Totehele) 91.
 Tottenham (Toteham) 87, 134.
 Twyford, East (Tueurde) 91.
 Tyburn (Tiburne) 91.
 Westminster 91.
 Wilsden (Wellesdone) 82, 91.

 SURREY
 Abinger (Abinceborne) 37.
 (Acstede) Oxted 31.
 Addington (Edintone) 33.
 (Aissela) Esher 21.
 Albury (Eldeberie) 21.
 Apps Court (Ebsa) 21.
 (Arseste) Hartshurst 37.
 Ashted (Stede) 27.
 (Aultone) Carshalton 33.

 Balham (Belgeham) 23.
 Banstead (Benestede) 14, 33.
 Barnes (Berne) 23.
 Battersea (Patricesey) 5, 23.
 Beddington (Beddintone) 33.
 Bermondsey (Bermundesye) 5, 23.
 Betchworth (Becesworde) 37.
 Betchingley (Blachinglei) 31.
 [H](Bocheham) Ockham 2, 35.
 Bookham (Bocheham) 29.
 Borough, Banstead (Berge) 27.
 Bramley (Brunlei) 21.
 Buckland (Bochelant) 25.
 Burgham (Borham) 35.
 Byfleet (Biffet) 31.

 Camberwell (Cambrewelle) 23.
 Carshalton (Aultone) 33.
 Chaldon (Calvedone) 33.
 Cheam (Ceiham) 33.
 Chelsham (Celesham) 31.
 (Chenintvne) Kennington) 23.
 (Cherchefelle) Reigate 25.
 Chertsey (Certesyg) 31.
 Chessington (Cisendone) 25.
 Chilworth (Celeorde) 21.
 (Chingestune) Kingston, 12, 25.
 Chipstead (Tepestede) 25.
 Chivington (Civentone) 31.
 Chobham (Cebeham) 31.
 Clandon (Clanedun) 35.
 Clapham (Clopeham) 23.
 Claygate (Claigate) 25.
 Cobham (Covenham) 21.
 Combe (Cvmbe) 25.
 Compton (Contone) 29.
 Coulsdon (Colesdone) 33.
 Croydon (Croindene) 33.
 Cuddington (Codintone) 27.

 Ditton (Ditone) 25.
 Dorking (Dorchinges) 37.
 (Driteham) 29.

 (Ebsa) Apps Court 21.
 (Eddintone) Addington 33.
 Effingham (Epingeham) 29.
 Egham (Egcham) 31.
 (Eldeberie) Albury 21.
 Epsom (Evesham) 27.
 Esher (Aissela) 21.
 (Estreham) Streatham 2, 23.
 Ewell (Etwelle) 5, 27.

 Farley (Ferlega) 31.
 Farncomb (Fernecombe) 29.
 Farnham (Fernehain) 29.
 Fetcham (Feceham) 27.

 Gatton (Gatone) 25.
 Godalming (Godelminge) 29.
 Godstone (Wachelestede) 31.
 Gomshall (Gomeselle) 21, 37.

 Hambledon (Hameledone) 29.
 Hanstie (Hanstega) 37.
 Hartshurst (Arseste) 37.
 Hatcham (Hacheham) 23.
 Headley (Hallega) 27.
 Henley Park (Henlei) 35.
 (Hoclei) Ockley 14, 35.
 Horsley (Orselei) 35.
 Hurtmore (Hormera) 29.

 Kennington (Chenintune) 23.
 Kingston (Chingestune) 12, 25.

 Lambeth (Lanchei) 23.
 Leatherhead (Torncroste) 27.
 Limpsfield (Limenesfeld) 31.
 (Limeurde) 25.
 Littleton (Liteltone) 29.
 (Lodesorde) 35.
 Losely (Losele) 29.

 Maldon (Meldone) 25.
 Merstham (Merstan) 25.
 Merton (Meretone) 23.
 Mickleham (Michelham) 27.
 (Mideham) 27.

 Milton (Mildetone) 37.
 Mitcham (Michelham) 33.
 Morden (Mordone) 33.
 Mortlake (Mortelage) 23.
 Moulsey (Molesham) 21.

 Nutfield (Notfelle) 25.

 Ockham (H.Bocheham) 35.
 Ockley (Hoclei) 14, 35.
 (Odemestor) Woodmansterne 3, 33.
 (Odetone) Wotton 37.
 (Orde) Worth, Sussex 25.
 (Orselei) Horsley 35.
 Oxted (Acstede) 31.

 Pachesham (Pachevesham) 27.
 Paddington (Padendene) 37.
 (Patricesy) Battersea 5, 23.
 Peckham (Pecheham) 23.
 (Pechingeorde) 29.
 Pepperharrow (Pipereherge) 29.
 Petersham (Patricesham) 25.
 Pirford (Peliforde) 31.
 Putney (Petelci) 22, note E.

 Reigate (Cherchefelle) 25.
 Rodsell (Redessolham) 29.

 Sanderstead (Sandestede) 33.
 Send (Sande) 35.
 Shalford (Scaldefor) 21.
 Shere (Essira) 21, 37.
 Stoke, Guildford (Stochæ) 35.
 Stoke d'Abernon (Stoche) 21.
 Streatham (Estreham) 2, 23.
 Sutton (Sudtone) 33.
 Sutton Place (Svdtune) 35.
 Sutton, Shere (Sudtone) 37.

 Tadworth (Tadeorde) 27.
 Tadworth (Tadorne) 27.
 Talworth (Taleorde) 25.
 Tandridge (Tenrige) 31.
 Tatsfield (Tatelfelle) 37.
 (Torncroste) Leatherhead 27.
 Thorpe (Torp) 31.
 Tillingdon (Tellingedone) 31.
 Titing (Tetinges) 35.
 Titsey (Ticesci) 31.
 Tooting (Totinges) 23.
 Tuesley (Tiwesle) 29.

 (Wachelestede) Godstone 31.
 Wallington (Waletone) 33.
 Walton on hill (Waltone) 27.
 Walton on T. (Waletone) 21.
 Walworth (Waleorde) 23.
 Wanborough (Weneberge) 35.
 Wandsworth (Wandeles-) 3, 23.
 Warlingham 31.
 Westcot (Wescote) 37.
 Weston (Westone) 21.
 Weybridge (Webruge) 21.
 Whaddington (Watendone) 33.
 Windsor (Windsor) 22.
 Wisley (Wiselei) 35.
 Witford (Witford) 33.
 Witley (Witlei) 29.
 Woking (Wochinges) 35.
 Woldingham (Wallingeham) 31.
 Woodmansterne (Odemestor) 3, 33.
 Wootton (Odetone) 37.
 Worpleston (Werpesdune) 35.
 Worth, Sussex (Orde) 25.

GENERAL INDEX.

- Acres 104.
 Alfred and Guthrum 174.
 Alnod 14.
 Arithmetic, descriptive 222.
 Army, William's 214, 218.
 " arrangement of 227.
 Asgar 14.
 Assessments, difference in 4, 41.
 " grouping of xiii.
 " reductions after 1066; xiv, 5, 47.
 " of 1065 restored 7, 47.
Aula 14.
Averagium 100.
 Azor 83.
- B and H 2, 40.
 Bayeux tapestry 226 note.
 Bedfordshire 137, 173, 211.
 Beorcham 207 note, 212-4.
 Berkhamstead 210, 212.
 Berkshire 39, 210.
 Bordars 99, 178.
 Boundaries 138.
 Buckinghamshire 129, 210.
- Cambridgeshire 10, 11, 43; 102, 133; 140, 142, 211.
car. 13 note.
 Carucates 81, 134.
 Chichester 209, 215.
 Chiltern Hills 138.
 Clendon 134.
 Commendation 49, 102, 103.
 Commission for Domesday 40.
 Conquest, effect of 216.
Consuetudo 100, 102, 106.
 Cotters 9, 40, 95.
 Coway Stakes 211.
- Danish boundary 136-7, 174.
Dare 7, 101.
 Essex 99.
 Feigned flight 228.
 Fisheries 95.
 Forests in Berkshire 48.
 Fosse disaster 225, 229, 231.
- Goring 210.
 Grestein monks 134.
Gurges 95.
- Hampshire 6, 192.
 Hampton, ford at 211.
 Harington 134.
 Harold, King 192.
 Hastings, battle of 217.
 " topographical notes on the battle of 225.
 Hecheland 225.
 Herstingston Hundred 134.
 Hertfordshire 94, 137-8, 212.
 Hides, see assessments.
 " *ibi* xiv.
 " 'in demesne' 94, 133, 176.
 " and acres 104.
 'Hundred,' the 10.
 Hundreds, changes of 45, 130-1.
 " divided 137.
- I. C. C. see Cambridgeshire.
 Inquisitio Eliensis 10, 11.
Ire 7.
 Isle of Wight 6.
 'Jacel in' 178.
Judicium 40.
- Kent 208.
- Liberi* 8, 40, 95.
 Lincoln diocese 106.
 Lillingston Lovell 132.
 London diocese 106.
- Malfosse 229.
 Mandeville, Geoffrey de 14.
 Manor-making 14, 82.
 Manor rubric 79, 82, 94, 106, 129, 139-42, 177.
 Micheldever 192.
 Middlesex 79, 211.
 Mortgages 14, 83.
- New Forest 194-206.
 Northants xiv, 5, 134-6, 174.
Nunquam geldavit xv.
- Ore 14.
- Palisade 222 note, 223 note.
 Pannage 12.
 Pasture 95, 106.
 Pipe Rolls 7, 46, 81.
Piscaria 95.
 Priests 95.
- Recedere* 101.
 Returns, original 10, 94, 96, 130, 173.
 Robert de Beaumont 224 note.
- Santlache 230.
Servus 8.
 'Shire,' the 10.
 Soc 102, 104.
 Socmen 100, 136.
 Stigand 208, 214, 215.
 Succession 1065-86, 82.
 Surrey 1, 209.
 Sussex 6, 13, 215.
 Swine 12.
- Teams of eight 106.
 " of the men 7, 41.
 Teams of demesne 7, 41.
 Telham hill 226 note.
Terra n car. 13 note.
 Thegns in Bucks 136.
- Values 207-12.
Valuit 7.
Vendere, 7, 101.
Vertere 8.
- Wace's fosse 231.
 Wasted lands 217.
 Wigot 82-3.
 William's illness 208.
 " march 207.
 William of Poitiers 219, 223.
 Winchester 209.
 Woodland 12, 41, 106, 133.
- Yardley Hastings 136.







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Domesday tables

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